XLI. *Of the Courts of* Pypowder; *by* John Pettingall, *D. D.*

Read March 4, 1762.

BY the ſtatute 17 Edward IV, 1477, it was provided, "That "whereas divers fairs be holden and kept in this realm, ſome "by preſcription, allowed before juſtices in Eyre, and ſome by "the grant of our Lord the King that now is, and ſome by the "grants of his predeceſſors; and to every of the ſame fairs, is of "right pertaining a court of Pypowders, to miniſter in the ſame "due juſtice in this behalf, in which court it hath been at all "times accuſtomed, that every perſon coming to the ſaid fairs "ſhould have lawful remedy of all manner of contracts, treſ-"paſſes, covenants, debts and other deeds, made or done within "any of the ſame fairs, during the time of the ſame fair, and "within the juriſdiction of the ſame, and to be tried by merchants "being of the ſame fair; which courts at this day be miſuſed by "the ſtewards, under-ſtewards, bailiffs, commiſſioners and other "miniſters, holding and governing the ſaid courts of the ſaid "fairs, for their private profit, holding pleas by plaints, as well "of contracts, debts, treſpaſſes, and other feats, done and com-"mitted out of the time of the ſaid fair, or juriſdiction of the "ſame, whereof, in truth, they have no juriſdiction furmiſing the "ſame debts, treſpaſſes, &c. to be done within the time of the "ſaid fair, and within the juriſdiction of the ſame: where, of "truth, they were not ſo; and ſome time by the device of evil-"diſpoſed people, ſeveral ſuits be feigned, and trouble them to "whom they bear evil will, to the intent that they for lucre "may have favourable inqueſts of thoſe that came to the ſaid fairs "where they take their actions: And whereas divers perſons "coming to the ſaid fairs be grievouſly vexed and troubled by

"feigned

" feigned actions, and alſo by actions of debt, treſpaſs, deeds, and " contracts, made and committed out of the time of the ſaid fair, " or the juriſdiction of the ſame, contrary to equity and good " conſcience; whereby the Lords of the fairs do loſe great profit " by the not coming of divers merchants to fairs, which by this " occaſion do abſtain, and alſo the commons be unſerved of ſuch " ſtuff and merchandiſe, which otherwiſe would come to the " ſaid fairs," &c.—Then comes the enacting clauſe, that the plaintiff ſhall ſwear, that the cauſe in declaration happened in the time of the fair, &c.

It appears from what has been read of this ſtatute, that the courts held in fairs were called *Pypowder*, and were granted by the crown to tenants in capite, and by them to other mean lords, with a juriſdiction to hear and determine ſuch cauſes and controverſies as aroſe in the fairs, on occaſion of covenants, treſpaſſes, and contracts, there made, and none elſe.

The matters amenable to theſe courts, originally, were ſuch as aroſe out of tranſactions on the ſpot, on account of contracts and other incidents relative to buying and ſelling; but by degrees, through the avarice and management of thoſe that preſided at them, they extended the juriſdiction to matters not properly within their cognizance, and conſequently they became derogatory to the King's authority in his courts, and detrimental alſo to the Lords of the fairs, by diſcouraging dealers from frequenting them, through fear of oppreſſion and falſe actions; to reſtrain theſe courts within their proper limits, and confine them to their original juriſdiction, of meddling with nothing, but what happened during the time of the fair, was the deſign and intent of this ſtatute.

Why theſe courts were called Pypowder, various have been the conjectures of Lawyers and Antiquaries. But as nothing has been determined on that ſubject, and only opinions vague and unſupported have been thrown out, I would beg leave of the Society to offer what has occurred to me, which, perhaps, may throw a little more light and preciſion upon it, than we have hitherto

met with. In order, therefore, to make this ſeemingly dry ſubject as intereſting and as entertaining as I can, I propoſe, Firſt, to conſider the origin of the fairs, and the courts attending them; which will lead

SECONDLY, to the knowledge why they were called *Pypowder*.

THE firſt enquiry will bring us into high antiquity, early as the time of the Roman model of government; which was the ſeed plot, from whence, by means of the northern nations, many of our laws and cuſtoms have been tranſplanted. What we call fairs, among them were called *Nundinae*, becauſe they were held every ninth day. The reaſon for this periodical aſſembly we have in Feſtus [*a*], Dionyſ. Halicarn. and particularly Macrobius, who ſays after Rutilius, "Romanos inſtituiſſe nundinas, ut octo quidem "diebus in agris ruſtici opus facerent, nono autem die, intermiſſo "rure, ad mercatum legeſque accipiendas Romam venirent; et ut "ſcita et conſulta frequentiore populo referrentur, quae trinun-"dino die propoſita a ſingulis atque univerſis facile noſcebantur; "unde etiam mos tractus, ut leges trinundino die promulga-"rentur."—i. e. Fairs were called by the Romans *Nundinae*, becauſe they were kept every ninth day, that the people that lived in the country adjacent, might take care of their rural affairs for eight days, but every ninth ſhould come to the city to market, and at the ſame time to hear the laws propounded; and when a law had been thus propoſed on three market or fair days for the approbation of the people, on the third it was approved, paſſed into a law and was promulged, i. e. provulged, proclaimed as a law before the people or *vulgus*.

BUT theſe Nundinae at Rome being calculated only for thoſe that lived in the neighbourhood of the city, in proceſs of time it became neceſſary to extend the commercial and legiſlative inter-

[*a*] Feſtus voc. NUNDINAE. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. ii. Macrob. Saturnal I. c. 16.

courſe beyond the firſt inſtance and intention; and to make the more diſtant parts of the Italian colonies partakers of the benefits ariſing from this inſtitution. Accordingly the chief magiſtrate had a power veſted in him of granting the privilege of a fair, or "Jus Nundinarum," to perſons whoſe condition and eſtate in the colonies was ſufficient to require it. Hence it was, as Suetonius tells us, that the Emperor Claudius, endeavouring to ingratiate himſelf with the people, affected to apply to the Conſuls, as a private man, for the grant of a Fair on his eſtate—

"Claudium Imperatorem jus nundinarum in ſua praedia a "Conſulibus petiiſſe." Claud. c. 12.

As the great concourſe of people attending theſe markets or fairs, and the ſeveral intereſts of the parties concerned in matters commercial, were likely to produce diſputes and controverſies, proviſion was made for preſerving peace, and determining right, by the inſtituting of a judicial court that was to take cognizance of all perſons and things, and to have abſolute juriſdiction without appeal, in all matters of diſſention or diſorder ariſing within the Nundinae.

From this conſideration of a court kept on that occaſion, theſe Nundinae were alſo called *Fora*.—Varro ſays, under the word *Forum*, "Quo conferrent ſuas controverſias, et quae vendere vel-"lent, forum appellarunt: They called that Forum, where they uſed to bring their goods to be ſold, and their controverſies to be tried. LL. lib. 4. And Feſtus under the ſame word, "Forum "nundinationis locus, quod etiam in locis privatis, in viis et "agris, fieri ſolet; et in quo judicia fieri ſolent." And Sigonius, De antiquo jure Italiae, lib. ii. ſays, that Forum had a double ſignification, "Unam pro juris, alteram pro nundinationis loco." And it is moſt probable, that the "Locus Nundinationis" was called Forum only in reference to the court there held; for we may ſuppoſe, from what we have heard from Varro and Feſtus, that the fairs and the courts were inſeparable among the Romans,

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in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon, as they were among our countrymen, as is declared in the act before us: "To every "fair, of right, pertaineth a court of Pypowders, to miniſter in "the ſame due juſtice."

Of this fair and court attending it we meet with a law of William the Conqueror, De Emporiis—"Item nullum merca-"tum vel forum ſit, nec fieri permittatur, niſi in civitatibus regni "noſtri, et in burgis, caſtellis et locis tutiſſimis. Sed omnia "recte, et in aperto, et per judicium et juſtitiam, fieri debent." Hoveden and Lambard.

The reaſon for this law ſeems to have been to prevent any miſchief or oppreſſion from pretended judgments given in private. This ſeems to be implied by the words "omnia recte, et in aperto, "et per judicium et juſtitiam fieri debent"—which could not ſo well, and without objection, be performed, as "in civitatibus "regni, burgis, caſtellis et locis tutiſſimis;" where all was open and fair, under the inſpection of the chief magiſtrates, and the view of all the people. This ſeems to be in contradiſtinction to that cuſtom, whereby this court before was wont to be held "in "privatis, in viis et agris," as we have ſeen among the Romans out of Feſtus.

It is obſervable, that as among the Latins Forum had this double ſignification, ſo among the Greeks αγορα ſtood for "Fo-"rum venalium et Forum judiciale;" which aroſe, as may juſtly be ſuppoſed, from ſome ſuch reaſon as obtained among the Latins. Although we meet with nothing confeſſedly the ſame with theſe courts among the Greeks, yet we find that the great feſtivals of Greece were celebrated at fairs. Juſtin, lib. xiii. 5. ſpeaks of the publication of Alexander's letters at the Olympic fair, "Recitatae, univerſa Graecia praeſenti, in Olympico mer-"catu." Hence we may obſerve, that as among the Romans, ſo among the Greeks, matters of the greateſt importance to the public were proclaimed at theſe markets, or fairs, as the moſt

general aſſemblies; as were in former times the laws of every ſeſſion of parliament in this country, by the king's writ to the ſheriff, which may be ſeen at the end of the acts of 31 Edward III, and elſewhere [*b*]. At this Olympic market or fair, there were alſo men called Hellenodicae, Ἑλλενοδικαι [*c*], inveſted with a juriſdiction to judge of the merit and pretenſions of the performers; and we may fairly conclude, that their juriſdiction extended to preſerve alſo order and good government, and determine ſuch diſputes as aroſe in that numerous aſſembly.

FROM the fair kept at Pannionia by the Greeks, Tullius inſtituted ſuch another meeting among the Romans. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. ſect. 25. ſays of the firſt, ενθα συνιοντες γυναιξιν ομου και τεκνοις κατα τους αποδειχθεντας χρονους, συνεθυον τε και συνεπανηγυριζον και αγωνας επετελουν ἱππικους και γυμνικους, &c. θεωρησαντες και πανηγυρισαντες. And of that inſtituted among the Romans in imitation of it he ſays, εν ᾧ αἱ πολεις συνερχομεναι καθ' ἑκαστον ενιαυτον ιδιας και κοινας θυσιας και πανηγυρεις αξουσιν. Ibid. ſect. 26. And Cicero, Epiſt. ad Attic. I. 14. mentions the Nundinarum πανηγυρεις "Erat in eo ipſo loco, eo die nundinarum πανηγυρις." And Paterculus, ſpeaking of the Olympic games, lib. i. c. 8. joins the games and fair together—"Habuit autorem Iphitum Elium, is "eos ludos mercatumque inſtituit." And Cicero, in his Tuſculan Queſtions, lib. v. ſpeaks of the great fair at the Olympic games, where ſome came to buy, and ſome to ſell, &c.—"Mercatum "eum qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatu totius Graeciae "celebritate, &c. Illic alii emendi, alii vendendi quaeſtu et lucro "ducerentur." So that we hence ſee, that the public games and fairs were kept together.

[*b*] Rex Vicecomiti, &c. ſalut. Quaedam Statuta, Ordinationes, per nos, Praelatos, Duces, Comites, Barones, et Communes regni noſtri, &c.—pro communi utilitate dicti regni facta tibi mittimus, quod in comitatu tuo, et aliis locis, ubi melius expedire videris, publice proclamari facias. 31 Ed. III.

[*c*] Pauſan. Eliac.

BUT

BUT to return to the Roman Fora, Sigonius thinks, and with reaſon, that the places called "Appii Forum, Forum Flaminium, "Forum Julium," and others, had their names from the Fora or fairs held there; and Feſtus expreſsly ſays, that they were thus diſtinguiſhed by the names of thoſe men, that firſt had the grant of them: "Ab eorum nominibus, qui ea fora conſtituendâ cura- "runt." And perhaps it was from Fora, in this ſenſe, that the French took their *Foires*, and not from Feriae, the Chriſtian Holy-days, at which time theſe fairs were uſed to be kept; as Spelman and others are inclined to think. At leaſt it is certain, that ſo low as William the Conqueror, the Latin Fora ſignified fairs, as may be ſeen in his law above-mentioned. Theſe meetings were likewiſe called Conciliabula, as appears from Livy, lib. vii. 14. "Legem latam eſſe, ne magiſtratus ambiendi cauſa, fora et con- "ciliabula obire liceret." A law was made that no candidate for any part of magiſtracy ſhould canvaſs in theſe fairs. The laſt circumſtance I ſhall mention relating to this Jus Nundinarum granted on the eſtates of men of condition, is out of the Digeſt, lib. i. De Nundinis—"Nundinis ab Imperatore impetratis non "utendo qui meruit decennii tempore uſum amittit:" that this privilege, if diſcontinued for ten years, was loſt; which, I apprehend, is the ſame caſe with us; for if a fair is diſcontinued for ſome time, and gone into deſuetude, it cannot be revived upon the prior grant, without a freſh concurrence of the lord of the fee.

THUS much for the Nundinae and Fora among the Romans. We proceed next to ſee theſe cuſtoms carried by them with their conqueſts into Germany, and thoſe northern nations, afterwards called Gothic; among whom we find many inſtances of this privilege granted by the ſovereign to the tenant in capite, to hold on his fee. From hence are derived all the noted fairs in Germany, at Francfort, Straſburg, Leipſic, Nuremberg, and others, the privileges and juriſdiction of which may be ſeen in the Diplomata and Documents of Frederic III. annexed to his life by Aeneas Sylvius, publiſhed by Boecler.

CALVIN.

CALVIN Lex Juridic. voc. VALVASORES, ſays, they were ſuch, " qui ſummae coercionis, non nundinarum et mercatus jus " habent;" who had, in their ſeigniories, all coercive powers, but not the privilege *of markets and fairs*; from whence we may obſerve, this laſt was well known, and eſteemed as a high regality in their country. From Germany theſe grants of fairs and correſpondent juriſdiction came into France, eſpecially into Normandy, as appears by the Grand Cuſtumier, or code of Norman law; and, if I miſtake not, we no where meet with ſo circumſtantial an account of the extent of the juriſdiction exerciſed in thoſe fairs, and of the caſes which were cognizable in thoſe courts, as in theſe cuſtoms of Normandy.

CHAP. des Juriſdictions. Firſt, it is ſaid, " Les bas Juſticiers " qui ont droit de foires et marches peuvent prendre cognoiſance " des meſures de boire, et de bled; s'ils les trouvent fauſſes, en " leur Fief, avant le juſtice royale y mette la main.

" ONT auſſi la cognoiſance du bruit de marché, c'eſt à ſcavoir " ſil intervenient quelque bruit au dict marché, le ſeneſcal en " peut cognoiſtre pourveu quil ny ait ſang et play, et en lever " l'amende, pareillement cognoiſſent de parc brize, et des exces " faicts à leur prevot en faiſant les exploits.

" ONT pouvoir auſſi de mettre prix aux vins et autres boiſſons " et d'avoir les amendes de ceux qui y contreviennent.

" PEUVENT auſſi tenir pleds, et gage plege, et ont la cognoi- " ſance des rentes cogneuës entre leur hommes, et de blaſmes " d' adveux." That is,

" THE inferior judges that preſide over markets and fairs, can take cognizance of meaſures both of drinking and of corn, if they are found falſe in their fee, before the king.

" THEY have likewiſe the cognizance in caſes of riot and quarrels in the market, provided there be no bloodſhed or wound, and to fine the parties offending. They have alſo right to enquire of ſhop-lifting, pound-breach, and violence offered to the Prevot in execution of his office.

" THEY

"THEY have power likewiſe to put the price on wines and other liquors, and to receive the fines of thoſe who offend.

"THEY can likewiſe hold pleas, and pleas of pledge, and have cognizance in the caſe of the rent of homagers, and in default of making their returns."

THERE is likewiſe a clauſe in a charter of liberties granted by Philip to the Normans, by which the juriſdiction of theſe fairs and markets was confined to things done at the time of the fair, agreeable to the proviſion in the act of our parliament. "Item "(ſays the charter) quod in ullo caſu, in mercatu burſae quere- "latus, niſi mercatum poſſideat, nullatenus reſpondere teneatur, "etiam ſi nos mercatum burſae retrahere niteremur:" That is, as I underſtand it, no man ſhall be amenable to the fair courts, unleſs for what happened in that fair [*d*]; not even if the king by reſumption of the grant ſhould preſide there himſelf. Agreeable to this is the common law of England, by which the king cannot reſume the grant of any franchiſes appendant to a manor, ſuch as market, fair, leet, park, warren, &c. ſo that the juriſdiction of the market or fair, once granted, is good againſt the king; ſee Coke's Reports, Caſe of the Abbot of Strata Marcella, lib. ix. From hence it appears there were ſuch courts among the Normans, which is all that at preſent is contended for in order to ſhew that theſe courts were thence derived with the Norman Conqueſt into England, unleſs it may be ſuppoſed, that they obtained here, as a feudal tenure, in the Saxon times, which ſeems to be the opinion of the author of Doctor and Student, where he ſays of the courts of Piepowders, chap. 7, that, "though "in ſome ſtatutes there is mention of them, yet, of the firſt in- "ſtitution of the ſaid courts, there is no ſtatue or law in Eng- "land:" He therefore grounds the practice of them on the cuſ-

[*d*] See the law in Demoſthen. contra Mid. for hearing all caſes relating to the feſtival of Bacchus, at the time, and on the ſpot.

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tom of the realm, which cuſtom, ariſing from feudal tenures, muſt be derived from the Saxon times [e].

HOWEVER we find a grant of Henry I. in lib. Rameſiae, to that monaſtery, for a fair; " Conceſſit Rex Henricus Deo et Sancto " Benedicto, et Sancto Ivoni Archipraeſuli, unoquoque anno, " ferias octo dierum cum Tol, et Theam, &c. et omnibus con- " ſuetudinibus quae optimae habentur in aliquibus nundinis per " totam Angliam," &c.—Now among theſe " opti ae conſue- " tudines nundinarum," undoubtedly, that of juriſdiction is to be reckoned, which we have ſeen in the 17th of Edward IV, *to be of right pertaining to fairs.* This appears likewiſe from the enumeration of the other regalities, " cum ſaca et ſoca, tol, et theam, et " cum infra capto fure." It does not ſay as other charters of privileges and regalities, " et cum extra capto fure," but only " in- " fra capto fure;" and the reaſon for this difference was, that the juriſdiction of fairs extended only to things done within the fair; and therefore " infra capto fure," is here only mentioned as a theft cognizable by that court, becauſe he was " infra captus." The fact and the caption were within the fair. Accordingly a writ of error lies againſt a judgment given in Pypowder, in matters not done within the fair or market. In the caſe of Hall verſus Jones, Mich. 42, 43, Eliz. a writ of error was brought by Hall againſt a judgment of the Pypowder in favour of Jones, for ſlanderous words ſpoken by Hall; which judgment was reverſed, for this among other errors, that theſe words concerned no matter relative to the market, and the court had no juriſdiction in that caſe. Coke, Rep. 10. Caſe del Marſhalſhea. We ſee from hence, and Doctor and Student, c. 7. Coke 4th Inſtitute, and the ſtatute above-mentioned, confirmed by the 1ſt of Richard III, as having been allowed by preſcription by the juſtices of eyre, and therefore of great antiquity, that theſe fairs, with courts appertaining to them, were very antient; they were probably brought into Eng-

[e] See the law of William the Conqueror, above.

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land by the Germans or Normans, who received them from the Romans, among whom they were firſt inſtituted, for the reaſons abovementioned.

WHATEVER the juriſdiction attending them among the Romans might be, to what it was extended, or to what confined, we have no certain grounds to determine.

BUT in the Gothic conſtitution derived in great meaſure from the Romans, we find it extended no further than to judge of controverſies ariſing at the fair, and to ſuch other things as related to the preſervation of good order and government among thoſe ruſtics that for the moſt part compoſed the aſſembly, on account of buying and ſelling their commodities, Bracton, lib. v. tract. 1. cap. 6. N° 6. ſays, "Nam propter perſonas, quae debent "habere celerem juſtitiam, ſicut mercatores quibus exhibetur "juſtitia Pepoudrous:" And hence Selden was led into the miſtake, that the nature of the law of the ſtaple, 27 Edward III, cap. 2. ſtat. 2. was a kind of "pee poudrous," as he writes the words, (notes in Forteſcue, cap. 32. 20.) for which he quotes Bartol, in π. Tit. Mandati vel contra, lib. 29. § quaedam. "Nota "quod in curia mercatorum debet judicari de bono et aequo, "omiſſis juris ſolemnitatibus. . . . . i. e. non inſpectis apicibus "juris qui veritatem juris non tangunt." He thought after Bracton, that "pee poudrous" related to the ſummary way of proceeding in that court, "quia litem citius in ea tranſigi quam pulvis a pedibus excutiatur;" ſays Spelman, led into the ſame error, I ſuppoſe by the ſame authority, and the words "celerem "juſtitiam." But "pie poudrous" ſignifies quite another thing; it implies a court of ruſtics, which Cicero calls "Nundinae Ruſ-"ticorum," contra Rullum, orat. 2. and has no relation to the "celerem juſtitiam," which Bracton, and the other lawyers from him, ſeemed to lay down as the reaſon for that name. This leads us to the reaſon why theſe courts were called of Piepowders; and on this point various have been the opinions of lawyers and antiquaries. Spelman, and others from him, ſuppoſe

they had that name given to them, "qui litem citius in ea tran-"ſigi, quam pulvis a pedibus excutiatur," becauſe the ſuit was ſooner determined at thoſe courts, than you could ſhake off the duſt from your feet: Spelman Gloſſ. voc. FERIAE. This opinion of Spelman ſeems to be grounded on the foregoing paſſage in Bracton, of "celerem juſtitiam" granted to merchants, "quibus exhibetur juſtitia pepoudrous"—as if "juſtitia pepoud-"rous" ſignified "celer juſtitia," juſtice with diſpatch, or in a ſummary way. We ſee likewiſe in Reg. Cancellariae, fol. 10. that "in brevi de recto, ſecundum conſuetudinem manerii," the king commands juſtice to be done "cum omni celeritate."

MANLEY's edition of Cowel ſays, that theſe courts were moſt uſual in ſummer, and the ſuiters commonly country people with duſty feet; or from the expedition intended, according to Spelman. And hence it was that Cic. in Rull. Orat. 2, calls "Capua "nundinas ruſticorum," as though fairs were properly relative to countrymen or ruſtics. Jacob, in his Law Dictionary, copies both theſe opinions; and Skene, De verb. ſignificat. ſays, "pede "pulveroſus" ſignified a vagabond or pedlar. But among the variety of opinions the truth ſeems to be this: Theſe courts after the Norman Conqueſt were called *Pypowdre*, becauſe the diſputes and controverſies of the country people that compoſed fairs were determined there. Theſe country people were called by the name of *Piez Poudreux*, from their dirty and duſty ſhoes, occaſioned by their rural employments. The manner of conſidering countrymen under this idea of duſty feet was not peculiar to the French nation. They copied it, or rather received it as a natural appellation, in uſe among the antient Greeks and Romans. In the Greek queſtions of Plutarch, the firſt begins thus, τινες εν Επιδαυρῳ κονιποδες και αρζυνοι; who are thoſe called by the Epidaurians κονιποδες and αρζυνοι? The anſwer is, the αρζυνοι were the Senators, and *the common people were called* κονιποδες, *becauſe, for the moſt part living in the country, when they came into the city*

they were known by their duſty feet [*f*]. Here we have the ruſtics among the Greeks, called by the name of Duſty Feet, κονιποδες, which exactly correſponds with the idea of "pie poudreux" among the Normans; and it is to be obſerved that M. Amyot, the French tranſlator of Plutarch, renders κονιποδες in this paſſage, by the very words "pieds poudreux." But this ſeems to be beſt explained from the Scotch Burrough laws publiſhed by Skene, with the Regiam Majeſtat. c. 120. "Gif Burgeſſes, "Merchands and Duſtefutes (Cremars) when they paſs forth of "the four parts of their Burghs, in exerciſing and uſing their "merchandize, does commit any wrong without the ſaid ports, "or within any baronie, they ſhall undertie the law of mer-"chants, without any conditions." And again c. 134. "Gif "any ſtranger merchand, travalland throw the realm, havand no "land, nor reſidence, nor dwelling within the ſherifdome, but "vagand from ane place to ane other, qwha therefore is called "pied-poudreux, or duſtifute." Again, c. 140. is intituled, "Anent ane Fairandman or Duſtifute." From all which it appears that theſe duſtifutes were pedlars or ſtallangers that kept ſtalls in fairs, and were called duſtifutes, becauſe they having no land or reſidence were vagand from one place to ane other, and thence called pie poudreux or duſtiſutes or fairandmen, i. e. travellers or pedlars attending fairs.

THESE ideas of countrymen, and duſty feet, were connected by the Romans alſo. Cicero de Inventione, lib. i. ſpeaking of arguments drawn from probability, ſays, "Si multus erat in cal-"ceis pulvis, ex itinere eum venire oportebat." If we ſee a man with much duſt on his ſhoes, it is probable he came off a journey.

HERE we ſee the ideas of duſt on the feet, and the country, ſo connected, that one leads to the probability of the other; the duſt

[*f*] Τιες εν Επιδαυρῳ κονιποδες και αρτυνοι; . . . . . τω δε δημῳ το πλειστον εν αγρῳ διετριβεν, εκαλειτο δε κονιποδες απο των ποδων γνωριζομενοι κεκονμενοι δια την οδον καταελθοντων εις την πολιν. Problemata Graeca Plutarchi ad init.

on the ſhoes was a preſumption, that the man came from a journey in the country. Hence it was a cuſtom among the Romans to mark the feet of thoſe ſlaves that were expoſed to ſale.

" ——— Nec ſacro cedit honori
" Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis."
Juvenal, Sat. i. 110.

THE deſign of diſtinguiſhing them thus, was in compliance with a law, which required that the country of each ſlave ſhould be declared at the ſale of him. " Mancipiorum venditores na-
" tionem cujuſque in venditione pronunciare debuiſſe." Ulpian. But why ſhould this circumſtance of chalky feet denote their being foreigners? I can conceive no other reaſon for it, but that the whited feet were to ſignify the duſty feet of ſuch ſlaves, as an indication they were foreigners, and had travelled from far countries. Tibullus and Ovid called them " gypſati pedes."

UPON the whole, we ſee with what propriety ruſtics are called " pie poudreux" in our laws, ſince that idea was appropriated to them both by the Greeks and Romans, eſpecially the former, who called them expreſsly κονιποδες, duſty feet, or " pied poud-
" reux." This leads us to the true meaning of what the ſtatute above recited calls a court of pypowders, which is no more than a court of ruſtics, " curia ruſticorum," called " pie poud-
" reux," or duſty feet, in the language that our laws were written in after the Conqueſt, a court granted by the ſovereign to his tenant, to hold in his fee, for the determination of all commercial and other diſputes, and controverſies ariſing in fairs, within the ſame fee.

XLII. *An*

XLII. *An ancient Indenture, containing a Compoſition for Wages between the Bailliffs of* Dunwich, *and their Repreſentative in Parliament, temp. Regis* Edw. *IV. Communicated by* Brown Willis, *LL.D. from the Original in his Poſſeſſion.*

Read June 12, 1755.

THYS bylle intentyd mead the viii day of Aprille in the thridde yer of Kyng Edward the fowrte betwyn Thomas Peers and John Scheelyng Ballyffs of Donewych and John Strawnge* of Brampton Eſquyer, Wetneſſyth that the ſayd John Strawnge grauntyth be theſe preſents to been oon of the Burgeys for Donewych at the P'lement to been holdyn at Weſtm^{r} the xxix day of the ſayd monyth of Aprille ffor the qwhech qwehdyr it holde longe tyme or ſchortt or gwhedye it fortune to been p'rogott the ſayd John Strawnge grauntyth no more to takyn for hys wagys then a Cade of full Heryng tho' to been dyliv̄id be Xitenmaſſe next comyng In Wetnyſſe heroff eythyr partt to others Indentur interchawngubilly her ſelys han ſett day and yer above ſayd.

Dyliverid.

* Gardiner (Hiſt. of Dunwich, p. 89.) calls him *Stradough*, and gives different bailifs this year, and not the ſame two together in any year.

XLIII. *Philo-*

XLIII. *Philological Letters from the celebrated Critic* William Baxter *to the late Dr.* Geeky, *when firſt entered at* Cambridge. *Communicated by Dr.* Sharpe, *Maſter of the* Temple.

Read June 2, 1768.

I.

W. B. W. G. Salutem.

GRATULOR tibi ex animo, Willielme dilectiſſime, tibi omnia procedere rectè, atque ex voto; praecipuè vero Almam Matrem Academiam tuo merito conceſſiſſe, quod rarentèr tironibus contingit, et σχολαστικὸν et χαριστικὸν de ſuâ munificientiâ. Praeclara ſanè et egregia de tuâ indole atque ingenio mecum ſperant omnes tui: tu etiam ipſe, modò fueris auſus, profectus dabis quos non expectas. In iſto certò lumine omnia clariùs videbis, quàm in noſtro angulo. Confido tamen neque te olim noſtrae amicitiae et puerilis inſtitutionis poeniturum. Subit mihi, ex occaſione hâc, communicare tecum quod nuperrimè legenti occurrit de voce βροτὸς, atque etiam βρότος, quae poſterior vox *emortuum ſanguinem*, ſive *tabum*, ſignificat. Satis ſcio tibi nondum excidiſſe, quod ſaepiùs à me audieras; linguam ſcilicet Romanorum conſtare ferè ex obſoletis Graecis vocabulis. Quod igitur poſtero tempore communi Graecorum dialecto βροτὸς efferebatur, illud olim μορτὸς fuerat, unde et Latinis, ſive adjectivum, ſive malis participium, *mortuus*. Si unde illud nôrim quaeras, praeſtò eſt Alexandrinus Ammonius, qui eruditiſſimè in Ariſtotelis logicam commentatus eſt. In libellum περὶ ἑρμηνείας haec habet: Βροτὸς δὲ ὡς μορτὸς, ἢ μοιρητὸς. Διὸ καὶ τὸ ἐδείμαμεν ἄστεα μορτοὶ, φησὶν ὁ Κυρηναῖος: quod eſt, *condidimus urbes nos mortales.* Graecis autem ſcriptoribus Graecus poëta Callimachus, cujus Hymni in deos adhuc exſtant, ὁ Κυρηναῖος, à patriâ *Cyrene* dicitur.

Conve-

Conveniunt igitur et βρότος, *tabum*, et βροτὸς, *mortalis*, et Callimachi μορτὸς cum Latino *mortuus*, imò etiam fortaſſe Latina vox *brutus*; certè Italis vel hodie *brutto*, pro *contaminato* et *foedo* eſt. Quid quod vel *mors* ipſa de Graeco μόρος, *fatum*, ſit, de pr. medio μέμορα, de μείρω, *divido*; quod hoc ex ſorte fati cuique contingat. Noſtri omnes rectiſſimè valent, omniáque tibi precantur, et vovent, quae ipſe cupis. Da operam, dulciſſime Willielme, ut perpetuò valeas et animo et corpore.

Celſis Compitis, iv° Iduum Nov. Vale.
Anno à nato Domino MDCCVI.

II.

W. BAXTER GYGEO ſuo S.

FUERE literulae tuae, Willielme Gygee, adoleſcentum optime, acceptiſſimae nobis, et perjucundae; et tu quidem peramicè feciſti, quòd contubernii noſtri atque amicitiae memor fueris. Facis tu quidem, quod perpauci alii, ut ingenuè agnoſcas quantulumcunque id ſit, quod opellae noſtrae debeas. Res eſt plena pudoris haec, neque ſaeculi noſtri. Nequeo mihi temperare, quin te certum faciam me ineunte menſe iſto fuiſſe viſu territum nocturno; ſiquidem tu viſus es mihi per quietem in extremis agens, et quaſi jam planè efflaturus animam: derepentè tamen revixiſſe videbaris. Gratulor ſanè laetum fuiſſe noſtrum augurium: in poſterum ſatis ſcio diligentior eris tui. Νοήματα verſiculorum tuorum admodùm nobis placuere; nam fuere et gravia et ſatis ſcita, et verba ipſa benè Latina; erratula adoleſcentiae videbantur condonanda. Nôſti, puto, illud, " Ubi plura " nitent," &c. Forſan tu ad Poëtica minùs appellis animum, aliis rebus attentior; in hâc tamen futurus egregius, modo collubuerit. Περὶ τῆς γιγαντολογίας vetuſtiſſima increbuit perſuaſio tam in Oriente, quàm in ipsâ Graeciâ, Gigantes humanâ fuiſſe origine et divinâ. Nam vel ipſe Achilles dicitur Ἐννεάπηχυς,, ſive *novemcubitalis* [*a*] ſtaturae fuiſſe, quem nôſti *Peleo* et *Thetide* natum.

[*a*] Veteribus enim quivis ἀθάνατος pro Deo erat.

Certe

Certe Poëta Lycophron hunc Πελασγικὸν appellat Τυφῶνα. Hebraicâ loquendi consuetudine *filii Deorum* dicuntur ipsi Dii, sive Ἄγγελοι [*b*], uti ad initium Jobi cernere est, et in vaticinio Danielis, quomodo et Herodoto lônes plus semel appellatos legimus παῖδας των Ἰώνων. De mediâ philosophiâ figurari constat alterum nominis usum; siquidem, Ἐνάρετοι ἄνθρωποι ὑοί εἰσι τῦ θεῦ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Πλάτωνικῶ. Verùm ne aqua tibi diutiùs haereat, adeundus erit Apostolus Judas, qui Enochi vaticinium laudat Περὶ λειποταξιοσύνων ἀγγέλων, cujus satis luculentum fragmentum à Scaligero [*c*] editum est. Periochâ sextâ epistolae Judae habentur ista: Ἀγγέλυς τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσανλας τ' ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόνλες τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, &c. Quin et in sequenti clausulâ tradit *Sodomeos* atque *Gomorrhaeos*. Τὸν ὅμοιον τούτοις τρόπον ἐκπορνεύσασθαι, in diversum scilicet genus. Atque haec, puto, omnia, autoritate ductus Enochici libelli, cujus modò memini, qui haec ipsa prodit. Imò et magicas artes et reliquas corruptelas ab his fuisse mulieribus contraditas. Neque est quod te terreat antediluvianus liber, cum et in nostro Pentateucho occurrat Lamechi cantilena, quae vel Mosaico saeculo patrum haerebat memoriâ. Possit igitur et Enochi vaticinium initio poëmatis formâ fuisse et memoriae mandatum primorum patrum. Quis nescit Enochum Hebraeis dici *Chanoch?* Hujus etiam memoria durâsse videtur et apud antiquos Phrygas; sicuti et in Graeco proverbio, Τὰ Καννάκυ, de omnium vetustissimis. De *Cannacâ* autem ità Zenobius in Epitome Proverbiorum Tarraei atque Didymi vetustorum grammaticorum. Καννάκης γὰρ ἐγένελο Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς, ὡς φησὶν Ἑρμογένης ἐν τοῖς Φρυγίοις, πρὸ τῶν Δευκαλίωνος χρόνων, ὃς προειδὼς τὸν μέλλονλα καλακλυσμὸν συναγαγὼν πάνλας εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ μελὰ δακρύων ἱκέτευεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ Ἰαμβοποιὸς φησὶν, ἵνα τὰ Καννάκυ κλαύσω.

CREDIBILE est igitur, et in ore Phrygum fuisse Enochi naenias, cùm gens sit ista omnium vetustissima. Certè Tertulli-

[*b*] Sicuti et Γὼγ sive Γύγης apud Mosen.
[*c*] De Emendat. Temp.

anus

anus[*d*] noſter nollet repudiari Enochi librum. Neſcio quid Edvardus veſter opponet Judae Apoſtolo, qui diſertis verbis Enochum laudat, et ſcortatos fuiſſe Angelos affirmat. Nos omnes cum noſtris rectâ utimur valetudine, quam tibi precamur perpetuam, caeteraque ex voto omnia.

Dabam Celſis Compitis, xiii° Kal. Jun. Vale.

QUID? quod vel ipſe Paulus epiſtolâ ad Corinthios primâ, cap xi. ſcribat oportere mulierem ἐξουσίαν (Irenaeo κάλυμμα, ſive περιβόλαιον appellatum) ἐπὶ τ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Vide ſis ad eum locum Hammondii paraphraſin. De Lightfooto piget dicere, nam ſomnia narrat Hebraica.

[*d*] Libro de velandis virginibus.

III.

W. B. W. G. Salutem.

TU quidem peramantèr feciſti, adoleſcentum optime, Willielme Gygee, quòd oſtendere volueris nondum tibi intercidiſſe noſtri memoriam. Fuere ſanè literulae tuae nobis acceptiſſimae; atque eo quidem acceptiores, quòd ex his intellexerim incrementa tuae virtutis, atque φιλομαθείας, et mores etiam candidiſſimos, qui (niſi vana auguror) luculentiora daturi ſunt propediem ſui documenta. Aveo tamen ſcire et rationem tuorum ſtudiorum, et profectus: pergratum igitur feceris, ſi per ſequentes tuas literas certior fiam, quibus potiſſimùm rebus animum tuum appellas. Scito autem et veterum linguarum cognitionem, et univerſam φιλολογίαν, non minori fore tibi oblectamento, quàm utilitati. Una enim grammatica (quod ait Quintilianus) plus habet in receſſu, quàm in fronte profitetur, clavis haec et fax rerum, tam veterum, quàm novarum: abſque hâc foret, vel theologia, et philoſophia planè caecutirent. Nôſtin' quid erat, quòd veteres Graeci ſe hoſti dedentes *terram* et *aquam* porrigerent? Equidem exiſtimaverim jurandi factum feciſſe causâ. Siquidem

duobus iſtis elementis mortalitas noſtra conſtat. Unde et Dii immortales, atque ipſe Deûm pater Jupiter, Styga juravit. Certè Iliade Ξ. Ὕπνος Deus Junonem hiſce verbis jurejurando adigit:

Ἄγρει νύν μοι ὅμοσσον ἀάλλου Στυγὸς ὕδωρ,
Χειρὶ δ' ἑῇ τῇ ἑτέρῃ μὲν ἕλε χθόνα πουλυβότειραν,
Τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ ἅλα μαρμαρέην.———

Ad quae verba ſatis ſcitè antiquus Interpres τὰ βαρύταλα τῶν στοιχείων ὄμνυσι, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγομεν Ξηρὸν καὶ Ὑγρόν. Atque haec quidem puto Hebraeis dici שאול *ſaul* et מות *moth*, et Apocalypſeôn libello Ἅδης καὶ Θάνατος. Cum autem veteri Graecia μαῖα ſit *mater*, prodente Euſtathio in Iliada A. cùmque apud Proclum (in Platonis Timaeum) ipſa *Nox* dicatur Μαῖα θεῶν ὑπάτη, quod eſt *ſuprema deorum genetrix*, quis ambigat quin et Syris et Aſſyriis *aqua* ideô dicatur מַיָּא, *maya*, ut et Aegyptiis μὼ, quòd ſit γενέσεως μήτηρ. Certè Plutarchus in libello quem de Diis Aegyptiorum, Iſide ſcilicet atque Oſiride, conſcripſerat, *Lunam* dicit Aegyptiis dici Μὼθ, quòd pro *Terrae matre* haberetur. Jamblico etiam in libello de Myſteriis Aegyptiorum, μὼθ dicitur ἰλὺν, ſive *coenum*, eſſe Phoenicibus; quòd cum Graecorum Chao convenit. Verum et Phoenicibus, et Hebraeis מות *moth* videbatur etiam maſculino dici genere, ac ſi planè Ἀρσηνοθήλυς eſſet. Ita enim Porphyrius in libro Περὶ Ἀποχῆς: Ἕτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μοὺθ ἀφιεροῖ, Θάνατον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσι. Hebraeis etiam horum vicinis מות *moth* maſculinis verbis adjicitur: puto quòd Graecis Θάνατος ſit maſculinum. Notiſſimum eſt illud Heracliti Epheſii dictum, ὕδωρ τῇσι ψυχῇσι θάνατος. Beatiſſimus etiam martyr Ignatius in quâdam epiſtolâ ſe vitae pertaeſum hiſce verbis teſtatur, τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ οὐ πίνει ὕδωρ. Atque hactenus quidem de Μοὺθ: contrà Ἀΐδης, *Dis pater* Latinis dicitur, Hebraeis שְׁאוֹל *ſaul*, quod quidem forſan eſt à praepoſitivo ש *ſin*, vel ὁ, et אוֹל, ἄφρων, ἄβουλος, et Latinis *fatuellus*. Quid autem Graecorum ἄϊς et ἀΐδης, niſi *inſcius* et *ſtolidus*? Atque hic nobis videtur dici ἀναίσθητον στοιχεῖον, *terram*, quod ſit ex ſe planè *emortuum* et *inſenſibile*.

ſibile. Ut ſint מָוֶת *moth* et שְׁאוֹל *ſaul*, ſive θάναλος et ἅδης, τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν, maximum veterum juramentum, de quibus non tantùm Graeci veteres, verùm etiam Hebraei, de more antiquo, perſonas effinxêre corporales. Veluti Pſal. XLIX. 15. לִשְׁאוֹל שָׁתוּ מָוֶת יִרְעֵם בַּצֹּאן, h. e. *tanquam oves orco poſiti ſunt, mors veſcetur iis.* Videtur etiam proprium quoddam Orci nomen fuiſſe בִּלְיַעַל, Βελιὰλ, quaſi *deglutiens deus*; בְּלִיַּעַל: Prov. I. 12. נְבַלְּעֵם בשְׁאוֹל, h. e. *deglutiamus eos, ut Orcus.* Divus etiam Johannes Apocalyp. xx. 14. de *Morte* et *Orco* loquitur tanquam de perſonis. καὶ ὁ Θάναλος καὶ ὁ Ἅδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θάναλος δεύτερος. Porrigebant igitur Graecorum dedititii γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, quo maximum jurarent hoſtibus juramentum, ſe in poſterum futuros in eorum fide. Iſta enim ſive dii, ſive elementa, mortalitatis notiſſima ſymbola, atque etiam cauſae. Unde conſtare puto quid erat et deos jurare Στύγα, quo morti ſe ſubjiciebant; neque amplius ambroſiâ et nectare, immortali ſcilicet pabulo, uterentur. Si haec tibi arridere intellexero, forſan etiam hujus farinae alia tibi impertiam. Interim fac ut valeas, et ut audeas, et ſperes ingentia.

Celſis Compitis, vii° Id. Febr. Vale.

IV.

ACCEPI literas tuas peramantes, dilectiſſime Gyggee, per tabellarium proximum, ex quibus intellexi quanti me feceris. Gratulor ſanè Needhamo tuo, et inſtitutum laudo. Haud dubito quin operae futurum ſit novam rei ruſticae ſcriptorum editionem moliri: verùm heu! eâ modò aetate ſum, ut nihil, vel parum admodùm valeat noſtra imbecillitas efficere. Columella in illo genere praecipuus eſt, maximèque utilis; caeteri duriores videntur, et minùs amoeni. Bentleius veſter per multos retrò

annos fuit orbi literario expectatiſſimus: verùm cùm opus aggreſſus fuerit plenum aleae periculoſiſſimae, ut ſapientem decuit, noluit editionem praecipitare. Satis ego ſcio, neque doctrinam, neque diligentiam huic viro defuturam, tantum faveat illi Minerva, quâ invitâ nihil rectè proceſſurum ſcio: Horatius meus exemplo eſt. Egomet pro compertiſſimo habeo Apoſtolorum rudiuſcula ſcripta fuiſſe primis noſtrae Religionis ſaeculis, ſaepiùs recuſa, atque ex arbitrio exſcribentium reformata, quo legentibus aliquanto fierent gratiora et commendatiora. Neque enim haerebant olim in literis et apicibus, ut hodie moris eſt. Scimus etiam aliàs libros vulgari ſtylo ſcriptos, nullâ penè curâ fuiſſe exſcriptos. Exemplo ſunt diverſa Theodori Priſciani, ſive Octavii Horatiani Medici Methodici exemplaria; atque etiam Apicii de re culinariâ. Verùm, deficiente jam chartulâ, properandum cenſeo ad veterem ſubſcriptionem;

Rectè vale.

XLIV. *A Letter*

XLIV. *A Letter from the* Black Prince *to the Biſhop of* Worceſter, *dated* 20*th* October 1356, *relating to the Battle of* Poitiers, *wherein the* French *King was made Priſoner, &c. Ex Regiſtro* Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. *Epiſcopi Fol.* 113. *Communicated by Dr.* Lyttelton, *Dean of* Exeter.

Read January 24, 1754.

L'ra D'ni Principis Wall' de Capcione R. Franciae par Le Prince de Gales.

REVE'NT piere en Dieu, et treſch' ami. Nous vous mercions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu q' vous eſtes ſi bien et ſi naturelment porte dev's nous, en p'ant Dieux p'r nous et p'r n're exploit; et ſumes tout certiens q' p'r cauſe de vous devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a en toutes nos beſoignes be' vueliz aide; de quoi nous ſumes a touz jo's tenuz de lui grazier, en p'ant que v're part ancy vieullietz faire en continuant dev's nous come devant ces heures avetz fait, de quoi nous nous tenons g'n'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're eſtat, dont nous penceons bien q' vous deſirez la v're merci doier bones nouvelles, vuellietz entendre q' a la faiſance de ceſtes eſtions ſains et heures et tout en bon point, loiez en ſoit Dieux q' nous donit y ce meſmes de vous toutes foitz oir et ſaver, et de ce nous vueilletz certifier p'r vos l'res et p' les entrevenantz a plus ſouvent q' vous p'res bonement en droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueilletz ſazoir q' la veille de la tranſlation Saint Thomas de Canterbire, nouz commenceaſmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et ſouvraignement p' cauſe q' nous entendiſmes la venue de n're treſhonn'e ſeign'r et piere le Roy la endroitz, et ſi neiſmes dev's les parties de Burges en Berye, Orlions et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le Roy de France ove g'nt

g'nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheasmes tant q' la battaille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q' les ennemis estoient disconfitez, grace en soit Dieux, et le dit Roi et son fils et plusiers autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envions p' n're tresch' bachiler Mons' Roger de Cottesford portoir de cestes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're tresch' ami, le Saint Esprit vous ait toute jours en sa guarde. Donnè souz n're seal a Birdeaux, le xx^e^ jour d' Octob'r.

[TRADITA fuit ista l'ra Domino Reginaldo de Briene, Ep'o Wygorn, apud Alvech', pr'mo die Decemb', an' Dom' m°. ccc quinquagesimo sexto, cum cedula nomina continente capt' et mortuorum in bello praedicto, cujus cedulae tenor insequitur p' o'ia parte folii istius suprascriptus.]

A REV'ENT Piere en Dieux Evesqe de Worcester, ces sont les noms de ceaux q' estoient pris a la battaile de Poyters p' le Prince de Gales fitz a noble Roi de Engleterre Edward Tierts:

John de Valoys, Roy de France.
Mons. Philip son filz.
Arcevesque de Leyns.

Countes:
- Mons. Jakes de Bourbonn, Counte de Pountois.
- Mons. John d'Artoys, Counte d' Eu.
- Mons. Charles de Artoys, Counte de Souggevil.
- Le Counte de Tankervill.
- Le Counte de Ventadour.
- Le Counte de Sauffier.
- Le Counte de Salesberg.
- Le Counte de Vendome.
- Le Counte de Wademont.
- Le Counte de Dammartyn.
- Le Counte John de Nasso.
- Le Counte de Salerplok.

Le Chatelaine de Composta.

Viscontes:
- Le Viscounte de Narbone.
- Le Viscounte de Vychichoard.
- Le Viscounte de Walemont.
- Le Viscounte de Beaumont.

Le S. de Sully.

Bannerets:
- Mess. Arnold Doudinham.
- Mess. Rauf de Cously.
- Le S. de Daubeney.
- Le S. de Denyn.
- Le S. de Saint Dyser.
- Le S. de la Tour.
- Le S. Damboisa.
- Le S. de Derval.
- Le S. de Manhales.

Le

Bannerets
- Le S. de Planuche.
- Le S. de Montagu.
- Le S. de Beaufremont.
- Le S. de Plamory.

Monſ. Giſcard D' Angle Seneſchal de Sentonge.
Monſ. Moris Mauvinct Sen. de Tours en Toreyne.
Monſ. Renaud de Guilhon Sen. de Peyton.

Bannerets
- Monſ. Pierres de Creon.
- Monſ. Giſcard de Arx.
- Monſ. Gauter de Caſtellion.
- Monſ. Giſcard de Beanyon.
- Le S. de Baſentin.

Ceaux furent ceaux deſſoutz p's devant la battaile à Remoartin.

Bannerets
- Le S. de Acon.
- Monſ. Buſignant.
- Monſ. Guy Turpin.

Bachelers
- Monſ. Guilliaume de Lorak.
- Monſ. Folles de Forſela.
- Monſ. Jakelyn de Ponſey.

Et ſont pris outre les noms deſſus eſcp'tz des gentz d' armes.

M. IX^c. XXXIII. Gaudete in Domino ſemper.

Les noms de ceaux q' furent mortz a la dite battaile ſont ceux.

Ducs
- Le Duc de Bourbon.
- Le Duc Datermes.
- Le Eveſque de Chalons.

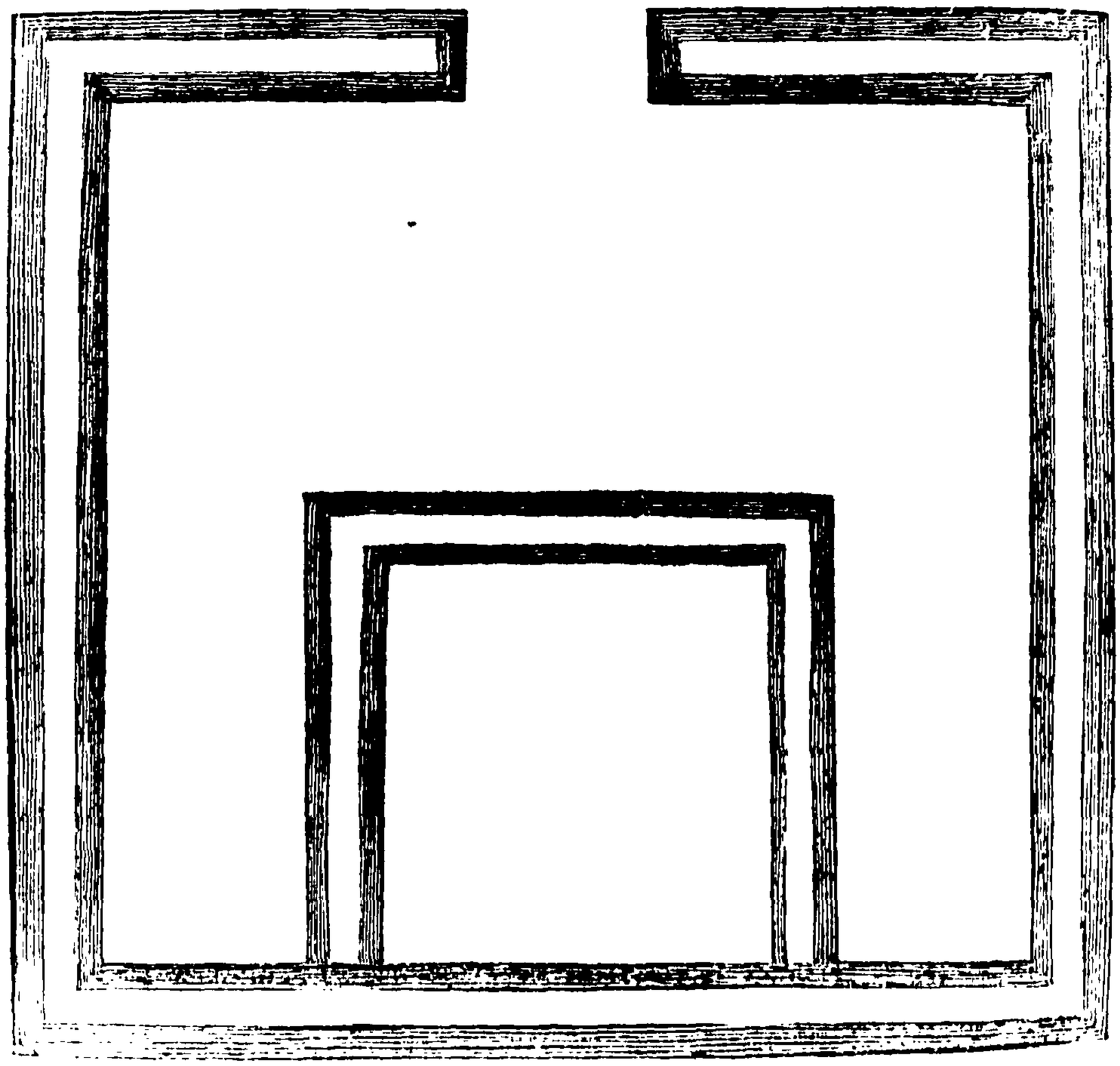
Monſ. Rob de Duras.
Le Mariſchal de Clermont.
Le Viſconte de Vrons.
Monſ. Geffrei de Charſey.
Monſ. Renuad de Pointz.
Le S. de Landas.
Le S. de Chaſtel Vileyn.
Le S. de Argenton.
Le S. de Mountgay.
Le S. de Malevrer.
Monſ. John de Sauſar.
Monſ. Lewes de Broyſe.
Monſ. Guilliem de Viele.
Monſ. John de Jole.
Monſ. Andrew de Chaveny.
Monſ. Euſtas de Kirpemont.

Et outre le noms ſurnometz ſont mortz des gentz d'armes M. M. CCCCXXVI. Iterum dico gaudete.

XLV. *An Account of a* Roman *Station lately diſcovered on the Borders of* Yorkſhire; *by the Rev. Mr.* Watſon, *Miniſter of* Ripponden, Yorkſhire.

Read February 20, 1766.

ON the trace of the great Roman military way from York to Mancheſter, in the townſhip of Saddleworth, within the county of York, and dioceſe of Cheſter, at a place called Caſtleſhaw, are the remains of a double camp, or ſtation, of a Roman form, as will appear from the following repreſentation of it:



THE

THE ground being improved, the veſtigia are but juſt diſcernable; ſufficient however is left to ſhew that the inner fortification was about ſixty yards by fifty, and the outward one a ſquare of more than a hundred yards on each ſide. It ſometimes goes by the name of *Huſteads*; but we are not from thence to conclude, that this was nothing but the ſite of ſome large houſe with its appurtenances; for the ſtation of Borcovicus on the wall is fixed at a place of the ſame name; beſides, I was informed on the ſpot, that coins, beads, pieces of uncommon pots, and bricks, had ſome time ago been found there; as alſo an inſcription on a ſtone, which, not being underſtood, was unfortunately broke, and uſed. I could meet with nothing of this ſort, except a perforated bead of dark green glaſs, round, and ornamented, ſuch as Pliny calls "Druidis inſigne," which yet might belong to ſome inhabitant of this garriſon; for, from this author, it is plain, that the Romans were ſuperſtitious enough to make uſe of theſe by way of amulets, where he ſays, "ad victorias litium, et aditus regum, "Druidis inſigne mire laudatur." He alſo gives an account of a Roman knight, who was put to death by Claudius, for wearing one of theſe in his boſom, during his attendance on a law ſuit.

THE places of antiquity near Caſtleſhaw, beſides the above military way, are two pieces of ground called the *Burying Grounds*; a place called the *Lower Caſtle Hills*; the remains of an iron forge, at the diſtance of a few hundred yards, by the ſide of the military way; and laſtly, ſomething like the ſituation of a fort, called by the name of *Dowry Caſtle*, having a much better view of the country than Caſtleſhaw, and, as I conjecture, built as a "Turris exploratorius."

Now, as the above has ſo many marks of a Roman ſtation, the queſtion is, by what name it was called. Ptolemy, Antonine, and the Notitia are all ſilent about any ſtation in theſe parts; but in the anonymous Ravennas, we have Mantio, Alunna, Camuluduno, &c. the firſt of which, Mr. Horſley, page 500,

thinks muſt be deſigned for Mancunium (Mancheſter), as in the ſecond Iter of Antonine. Alunna, he ſuppoſes, may be the ſame as Alone, in the tenth Iter, fixed at Whitley Caſtle, in the South-Weſt corner of Northumberland; and Camulodunum, he ſays, both here, and in Ptolemy, muſt be the ſame with Cambodunum in the ſecond Iter above-mentioned, which he has placed at Greetland in the pariſh of Halifax. But why muſt a ſtation, within a few miles of the wall of Severus, be put between Mancunium and Cambodunum, when yet the former is univerſally acknowledged to be Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, and the latter to be only about 18 or 20 miles from the former? Perhaps Mr. Horſley might think there was not ſufficient room for a ſtation between theſe two; but if it can be ſhewn that the caſe is otherwiſe, there will be no occaſion, I preſume, to remove Alunna ſo far as the South-Weſt corner of Northumberland, and conſequently not to ſuppoſe it the ſame with Alone.

THE place generally taken to be Cambodunum, is Caſtle-Hill near Almonbury; and though there is ſome reaſon to doubt of this, yet the diſtances in Antonine require that it ſhould be ſomewhere in that neighbourhood; now if Cambodunum was really in theſe parts (as may, I think, be proved) Caſtleſhaw is conveniently enough ſituated to be a middle ſtation between it and Mancheſter.

FROM Calcaria (Tadcaſter) to the antient Mancunium, along the preſent road, is about 58 Engliſh miles; but the numbers in Antonine make it only 38, which is a defect too ſtrong to be ſupplied, either from ſuppoſing that the Roman way ran ſtraighter than the preſent one, or, from adding four miles to the account, agreeable to the Itinerary of Richard the Monk. Is there any abſurdity, therefore, in ſuppoſing that a ſtation is dropt between Cambodunum and Mancunium; and that ſtation, from the authority of Ravennas, to be Alunna? A remarkable circumſtance may be produced to confirm this opinion; for the ſecond Iter

runs

runs thus, " Ab Eboraco Devam usque sic: Calcaria mille passus " 9. Camboduno 22. Mancunio 18. Finibus Maximae et Flaviae " 18. Deva 18." Here the whole distance between Mancunium and Condate is made to be 36 Italian miles, and a station put between them. Condate, I think, has been proved to be at Kinderton near Middlewich in Cheshire, which is nearly at an equal distance from Manchester and Chester, which two towns are only about 36 measured miles from each other, along the present road, from which the Roman way differed in length very little. There cannot therefore, as in the Monk's Iter, be room beween Mancunium and Deva (or Chester) for 54 miles, divided into three stations at the distance of 18 miles from each other; for two of these fill it up to a sufficient degree of exactness. Now, as a station is dropped on the other side of Manchester, and one put in here where there is no room for it, there is all the reason in the world to suppose, that a transposition has been made in the Iter, and that the " Fines inter Maximam et Flaviam" ought to be inserted between Cambodunum and Mancunium.

But if so, we come at a great discovery relating to that division which the Romans made of this island. Mr. Horsley has placed that part called Maxima Caesarienſis, beyond the wall, and Flavia Caesarienſis in Devonshire and Cornwall; but if this be right, how is it possible that a station could be upon the boundary betwixt them? It is a little unfortunate, that what this monk hath joined together, Mr. Horsley (for want of seeing this useful old writer) should have put so far asunder! But let us see what authority he thought he had for so doing: this seems chiefly to be founded on a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxviii. cap. 3. where it is said, that Theodosius the Roman general " in inte- " grum restituit civitates et castra multiplicibus damnis adflicta. " Instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria castra, limitesque vigiliis tue- " batur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam quae in ditio- " nem cesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut et recto-

" rem legitimum haberet, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio " principis." This he underſtood of the wall built by Severus, and the chain of forts thereon; ſo making theſe the boundary and defence of the province of Valentia, and abandoning Maxima Caeſarienſis (which, according to this hypotheſis, muſt lie to the North of it) to the mercy of the enemy; but I do not think, that the words of Marcellinus will bear this partial conſtruction; the expreſſions are general, " in integrum reſtituit civitates et caſtra-- " provinciam, quae in ditionem ceſſerat hoſtium, ita reddiderat " ſtatui priſtino, ut et rectorem legitimum haberet, et Valentia " deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis." Here we ſee, that a whole province had been loſt, but recovered by Theodoſius, and reſtored to its antient ſtate, ſo as to admit of a governor, and the new name of Valentia. This province alſo, we muſt conclude, was what the Romans poſſeſſed moſt Northwardly in Great Britain about the year 367, when Theodoſius was made governor; but why ſhould it be confined to the South of the wall? There is no reaſon for ſuppoſing this on account of the Notitia mentioning no ſtations beyond the wall; for this, it is agreed, was not wrote till very low in the empire, as Mr. Horſley himſelf thinks, about the year 445, which was but one year before the Romans abandoned Britain; and though Theodoſius recovered part of Scotland, it might, amidſt the vaſt ſtruggles of the Picts and Scots, be loſt again during the ſpace of more than ſeventy years: the ſilence of hiſtory is no objection to this, for this part of Roman hiſtory in Britain is remarkably defective.

UPON the whole, I am of opinion, that Mr. Horſley's map of the Roman diviſion of Britain is erroneous, and that we ought rather to follow that publiſhed by Mr. Bertram of Copenhagen. According to this, the Southern part of this iſland, diſtinguiſhed by a line drawn from the Severn to the Thames, was called Britannia Prima; the Weſtern part, or Wales, Britannia Secunda; the reſt of the kingdom, within a line drawn from the Humber

to the Ribble, Flavia Caeſarienſis; and all to the North of this, as far as the wall of Severus, Maxima Caeſarienſis; what lay beyond this wall, as far as the aeſtuaries of Forth and Clyde, was called Valentia, when re-conquered by Theodoſius; but had been part either of Maxima Caeſarienſis, or Veſpatiana, which laſt was the moſt Northern part of the Roman provinces in Scotland. This Veſpatiana the Romans held but a ſhort time, having no barrier to defend it; but Valentia was held longer, becauſe ſecured by a wall, ſuppoſed to have been erected by Antoninus Pius; and it is this very wall which ſeems to be hinted at in the above quotation from Marcellinus, and not that of Severus.

The concluſions I would draw from the above are, that the Southern boundary of Maxima Caeſarienſis ran along that ridge of hills which lie above Caſtleſhaw. That the ſtation called in Ravennas by the name of Alunna is the ſame with the "Fines "inter Maximam et Flaviam" of Richard the Monk, though, by ſome miſtake or other, this has been placed on the wrong ſide of Mancunium or Mancheſter; and that Caſtleſhaw is the very place which the Romans ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the name of Alunna, and ſometimes by that of the "Fines inter "Maximam et Flaviam;" theſe laſt being in the neighbourhood of the former. And in confirmation of the above, I beg leave to obſerve, that the country beyond the hills above Caſtleſhaw is, to this day, called Marſden, or more properly (as in old writings) Marchden, meaning the valley adjoining to the boundary; for marches are in Junius's Etymologicon defined to be "confinia, "vel limites alicujus territorii." Here is alſo a remarkable round copped hill, called March hill, which probably did once mark out the limits between the two above-mentioned provinces.

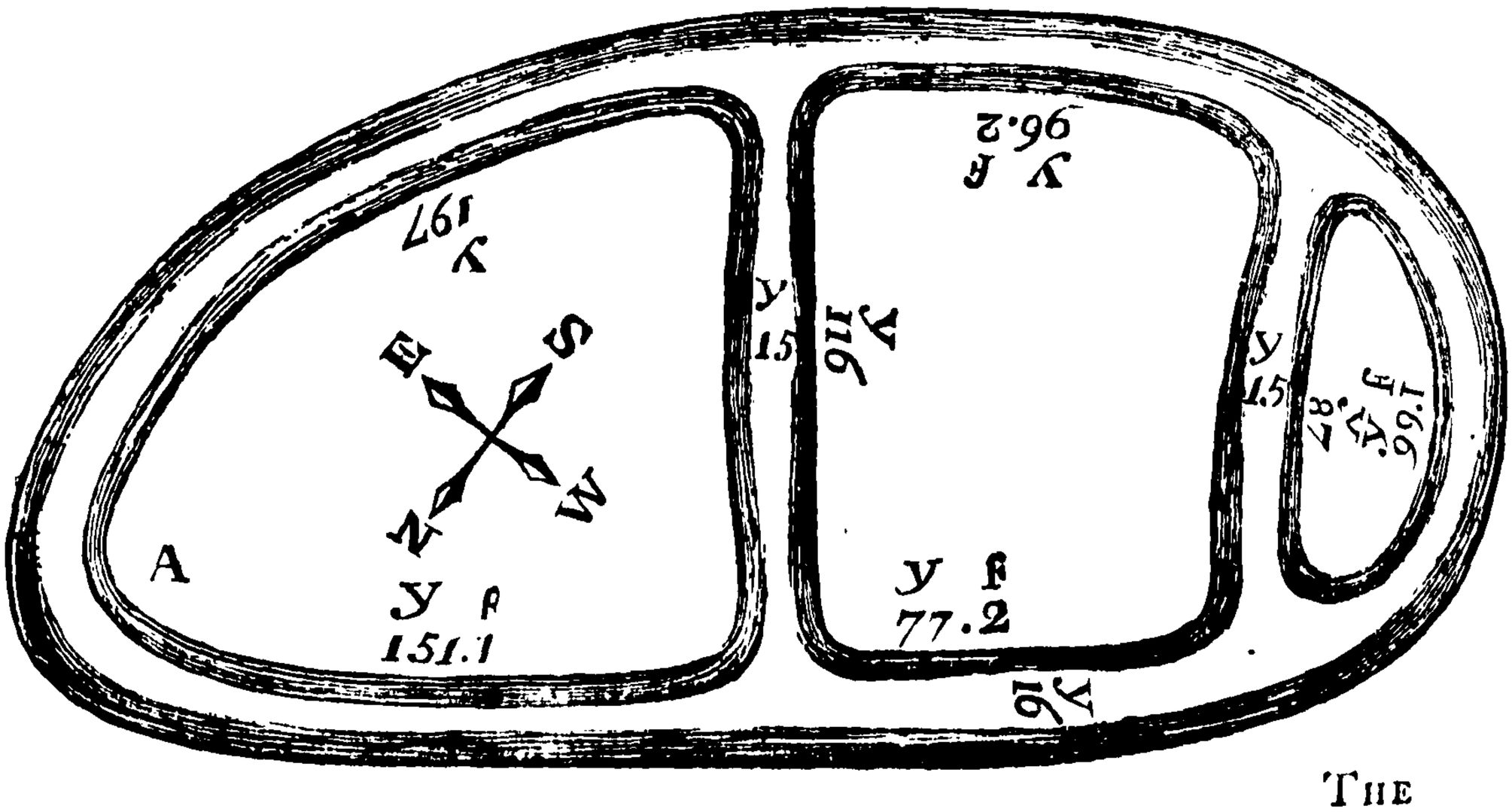
XLVI. *On*

XLVI. *On the antient* Campodonum; *by the Rev. Mr.* Watſon, *Miniſter of* Ripponden, Yorkſhire.

Read February 27, 1766.

IN Smith's edition of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, p. 96. are the following words: "Attamen in Campodono, "ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit (Paulinus) baſilicam, quam "poſtmodum pagani, à quibus Aeduini rex occiſus, cum tota "eadem villa ſuccenderunt." This Campodonum Camden, and others on his authority, have thought was the ſame as the Cambodunum mentioned in the ſecond Iter of Antonine, which they have placed at Caſtle-Hill near Almonbury, in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire.

BUT, unfortunately for this opinion, it is far from clear that Caſtle Hill, near Almonbury, was the Cambodunum of the Romans; for the ground, in its preſent appearance, has nothing of the Roman taſte about it; there have been no coins, altars, or other relics of that people found there; and, what is more, no Roman military way goes near it. The following ground plan of the works there will aſſiſt us in finding out whether it was likely to be a Roman ſtation or not.



THE

THE above fortifications were contrived ſo as to take in the whole compaſs of the hill, ſo that the form is very irregular; it is obſervable, however, that the corners are rounded, though they were capable of being ſquare, which laſt, I think, was almoſt the conſtant method of the Romans, when the ground would admit of it; thus in Pitiſcus, at the word Caſtra, we read, "Romani "veteres quadrata tantum (caſtra) et quadra oblonga probaverunt; "illa cum duabus, haec cum quatuor legionibus res gereretur. "Neque ab hac ratione defecerunt poſteriores, quamvis varium "admodum acciperent numerum legionum." The exceptions to this are ſo few that they are not to be relied upon.

THE openings in their ſtations were four gates, which generally were placed at equal diſtances from the angles; the above, however, is divided into three parts, by two great ditches; one of which runs through the middle, the other near one of the ends, and both communicate with that which ſurrounds the whole; by which means the area at A, on the ſide of Almonbury, is almoſt as large as both the others. As the aſcent to this was the eaſieſt, it was the moſt open to an attack; but if the ſoldiers were beat from hence, there was an opening into the ſecond diviſion, which overlooked the firſt; and, being defended by a ditch of about fifteen yards, well fortified, and of a conſiderable depth, was conſequently ſtronger than the other; if, however, the men were alſo driven from this, there was ſtill another opening left into the laſt, which, though the leaſt, was certainly by much the ſtrongeſt; for beſides ſuch a ditch as the above, this commanded both the other diviſions; was fixed on the ſteepeſt part of the hill; and, if one may judge from the preſent appearance of the ground, had the moſt conſiderable works upon it. All this ſeems well enough contrived where nothing was to be conſulted but defence; but muſt be ill-judged where a ſettlement was intended to continue; for the inhabitants would neceſſarily feel the inconvenience

convenience of having but one gate, which is all the nature of this hill would allow of.

IT was not common for the Romans to have their ſtations on ſo high a piece of ground as this, except in caſes of danger or diſtreſs. Hyginus, in his book de Caſtrametatione, ſays, "Primum locum habent (caſtra) quae ex campo in eminentiam "leniter attolluntur; ſecundum, quae in plano conſtituuntur; ter-"tium, quae in colle; quartum, quae in monte; quintum, quae "in loco neceſſario." The reaſons for all which are given us by the Annotator on this antient author; in particular, on the fourth ſort (ſuch as we are now examining) he ſays, "Tuta haec "quidem, ſed propter metûs ſuſpicionem, difficiliorem frumen-"tationem, aquationem, et pabulationem, nec non equitatûs in-"commoda, tam ad pugnam quam victum, interdum non op-"tima;" adding, that theſe were firſt uſed by Fabius when he was labouring to reſtore the fallen ſtate of Rome; but what was right on that occaſion might not be ſo on others; in fact, that brave, heroic people, choſe rather to truſt to ſuch works as they threw up with their own hands, near ground, on which, if they thought fit, they could conveniently draw out to fight, making their camps and ſtations ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent a ſurprize, or to defend themſelves in, till aſſiſtance could be had, rather than fortify ſuch faſtneſſes as would ſhew they were afraid of the enemy.

THE ſame writer, Hyginus, ſays alſo, "Flumen ſive fontem "habere debent in qualicunque poſitione;" but Caſtle Hill is near neither river nor brook, and, what is worſe, does not afford even a ſingle ſpring upon it. This indeed would tend to prove that no body ever remained long upon it; if the foundation of ſtrong walls did not remain, and if there was not a tradition, that the water which ſupplied the garriſon was brought by pipes, more than a mile, from an higher piece of ground than this, called Ludhill, which in the Anglo-Saxon language ſignified the Water-hill; and, having a Saxon name, is a further argument, that

that this was a ſettlement of that people. The ſame tradition ſays alſo, that when this fortreſs was beſieged, a deſerter diſcloſed to the enemy in what manner the pipes were laid, who cutting the ſame, the garriſon was ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

THESE reaſons, I think, render it probable, that Caſtle Hill, near Almonbury, was not a Roman, but a Saxon fortification, and conſequently not the Campodonum of Bede. It muſt be owned, indeed, that the Saxons did frequently ſettle within thoſe walls which the Romans had conſtructed, making ſuch alterations as were agreeable to their own taſte and ſkill in military affairs; but there are not ſufficient data to conclude they did here. Nothing ſeems to prove it to have been a Roman ſtation at all; but ſeveral arguments may be produced to ſhew that it was thrown up as a barrier to ſecure the kingdom of Northumbria from the incurſions of the Mercians, and other powerful neighbours.

KING Alfred, in his tranſlation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory into the Saxon language, renders Campodonum by the word Donafelda, which Gale ſuppoſed was Tanfield near Rippon, for no other reaſons that I know of, but becauſe there was ſomething of a likeneſs between the two names, and Tanfield was not far from the river Swale, in which we had juſt before been told that Paulinus baptized, who alſo built a church in Campodonum. But it ſeems not to follow from the words of Bede, that Paulinus did baptize in any river near Campodonum. They are theſe, "In provincia Deirorum, ubi ſaepius manere cum rege ſolebat, "(Paulinus) baptizabat in fluvio Sualva, qui vicum Cataractam "praeterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria vel baptiſteria in ipſo "exordio naſcentis ibi eccleſiae poterant aedificari. Attamen "in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit Baſilicam." Which I thus underſtand, that in the province of Deira, Paulinus, who uſed frequently to reſide there with the king, was obliged to baptize in the river Swale, which ran by Catarick (then probably one of the Royal Vills, or fortified ſtations of king Edwin),

win), for as yet there could not be erected oratories or baptiſteries in the infancy of the church there; but in Campodonum, which was alſo another royal vill, this Paulinus built a church, in which, no doubt, the converts were baptized, and not, as before, in the running ſtream. This rather ſhews that Campodonum was at ſome great diſtance from the Swale, and in a part of the country where Chriſtianity was better planted; and therefore Tanfield is not very likely to be the ſame as Donafelda.

BUT to come to the point. In the Saxon Chronicle publiſhed by Gibſon, p. 29, we read, "Anno 633, Edwinus Rex fuit interfectus à Ceadwalla, et Penda in Hethfelda." Bede alſo and Henry of Huntingdon aſſert the ſame. This Hethfeld Lambard, Gibſon, and others, have fixed at Hatfield, a few miles from Doncaſter; and not without reaſon, for this lay on the borders of the antient kingdom of Northumbria, where it is likely that Edwin the king thereof would meet his invaders: here are alſo the remains of large intrenchments; and, what is remarkable, ſome writers have called this place Hethfield, and others Hatfield; as an inſtance of the firſt, ſee Hearne's laſt edition of Leland's Itinerary; and of the ſecond Henry of Huntingdon, Fabian, &c.

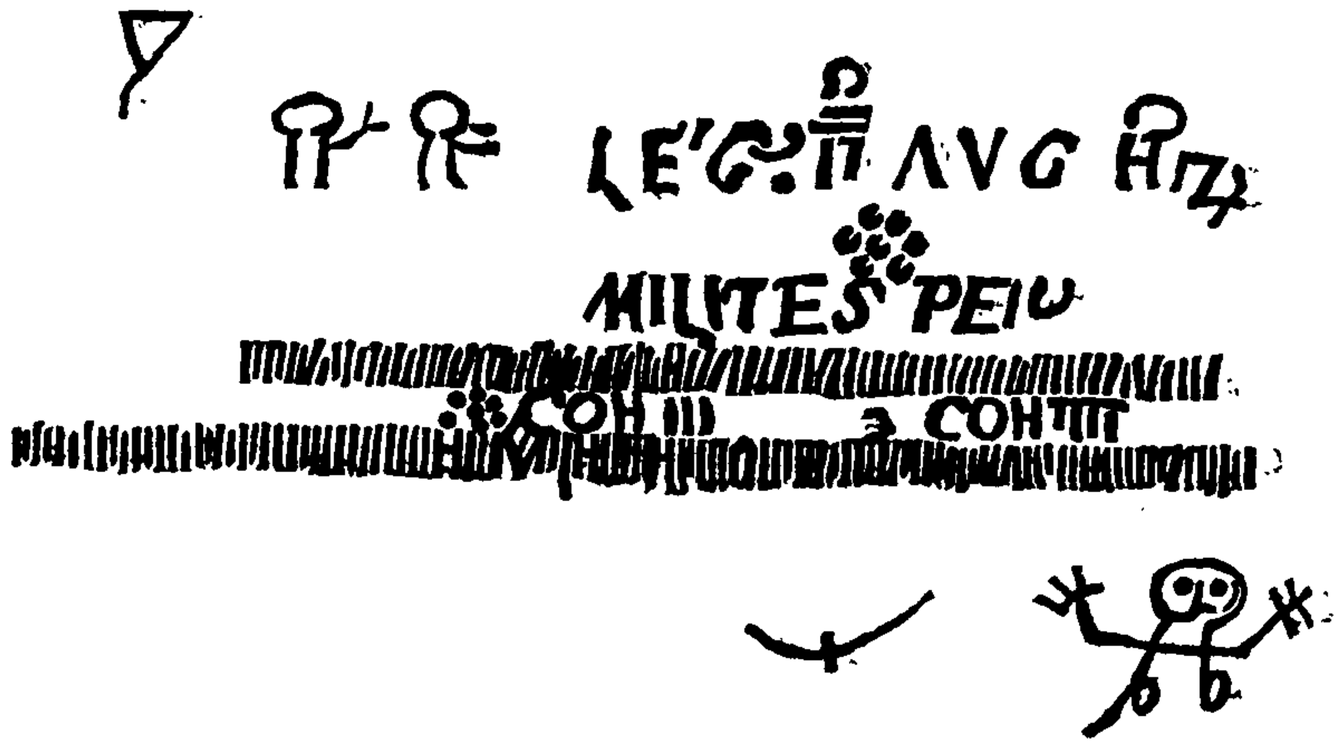
THE ſame account likewiſe in Bede, which tells us that the Pagans ſlew Edwin, informs us, that they burnt the church which Paulinus built, together with the royal villa where it ſtood. If any ſituation, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, will anſwer to the names of Campodonum and Donafelda, it will be more reaſonable to fix it there, than to look for it at any very diſtant place; but theſe names correſpond in a moſt remarkable manner with that of Doncaſter, which ſignifies the camp, or ſtation, on the river Don, or Dun. The Romans, who ſettled there, called it Danum; and, after them, the Saxons, Doncaſter; well, therefore, may king Alfred be ſuppoſed to call the ground or country Donafelda, which adjoined to this river and ſtation; for the Saxon word Feld is in Somner's Dictonary rendered

dered by Campus; and this, Bede, who was obliged to give it a Latin ſound and termination, as he wrote in that language, has well enough expreſſed by Campodonum.

THE concluſions to be drawn from the above interpretation are, that the Saxons ſettled on the Roman ſtation of Danum, now called Doncaſter; that it was part of the barrier of the kingdom of Northumbria, that Paulinus, who was archbiſhop of York, built here a church, when yet he could not do the ſame at or near Catarick, though both ſeem to have been occaſionally honoured with the preſence of King Edwin; and that conſequently Chriſtianity was ſooner, or at leaſt more extenſively, received here, than in the more Northern parts of the kingdom; that this town and church were both burned, after the battle of Hatfield, by the Britons and Mercians, in the year of Chriſt 633, and Chriſtianity for ſome time diſcouraged there, till the year 655, when Penda was defeated, and ſlain, at Winmoor, near Leeds in Yorkſhire. And I will add, that poſſibly Caſtle-Hill near Almonbury was deſtroyed ſoon after the death of Edwin; for, after the account of his being killed in Hethfield, the Saxon Chronicle ſays, " Deinde profecti ſunt Ceadwalla et Penda, ac devaſtabant " totam Northymbrorum terram."

XLVII. *A* Roman *Inſcription upon a Rock at* Shawk *Quarries, in* Great Dalſton, Cumberland; *explained by Biſhop* Lyttelton, *in a Letter to the Society.*

Read March 26, 1767.



GENTLEMEN, Clifford-ſtreet, March 26, 1767.

THE drawing I now lay before you, contains a Roman inſcription on a rock, ſituated at a place called Shawk Quarries, near Roſe Caſtle in Cumberland, which has hitherto been overlooked by all our antiquaries, even by my famous predeceſſor Biſhop Nicholſon, though ſo near to his own manſion, and within his own manor of Dalſton: I read it thus,

LEGIONIS SECVNDAE AVGVSTAE
MILITES POSVERVNT.
COHORS TERTIA—COHORS QVARTA.

WHAT to make of the ſtrange ſcrolls that accompany this inſcription, and of the two lines chiefly conſiſting of perpendicular ſtrokes

ſtrokes that incloſe the words; " cohors tertia, cohors quarta," I know not; but certainly they were the work of a later age, and probably of men who laboured at theſe quarries, merely for amuſement; though it ſeems to have been rather a laborious amuſement, for this part of the rock is full five yards in height, acceſſible only by ladders, and the ſtone exceeding hard, in which theſe marks and lines are inſculpt.

ROMAN inſcriptions on rocks are very rare in Britain, and indeed throughout Europe, which renders this before you more worthy conſideration. I know of none that have been diſcovered in England, except one at Helbecke Scar near Brampton in this county, and three at Crawdundale Wathe near Kirkby Thor in Weſtmorland. Another, indeed, is ſaid, in the additions to Camden, to have been inſcribed on a rock near Naworth in Cumberland, called Leage Crag; but Mr. Horſley tells us, upon enquiry after it, he learned that it was utterly defaced. We have all theſe inſcriptions, except the laſt, faithfully deſcribed in Horſley; and the purport of them is ſo very ſimilar to this at Shawk, that it would be loſs of time to mention them particularly. Three out of the four appear to have been the work of the ſecond Auguſtan legion, which, together with the twentieth legion, was employed under the Emperor Severus in building the Roman wall about the years 207 or 208, according to Mr. Horſley's conjecture.

THE author of the additions to Camden concurs in opinion with Horſley, that the quarries at Helbeck Scar and Leage Crag afforded the Romans a ſupply of ſtones for building the famous wall; and the quarries at Crawdundale Wathe for their buildings at Kirkby Thor, where they had a very conſiderable ſtation; and that upon theſe occaſions, they left inſcriptions behind them. This conjecture is much ſtrengthened by the ſtrong reſemblance which Horſley obſerved, both as to nature and colour, between the ſtone of Helbeck quarry and that of the Roman wall throughout

out great part of Cumberland. He alſo adds, that the inhabitants near the place continue to call it the *Old Quarry.*

I HAVE ſome ſuſpicion, that if the old ſtone quarries ſituate in that part of Northumberland which lies contiguous to the Roman wall were carefully examined, ſimilar inſcriptions might be diſcovered; for the ſame motives which led the builders of the famous wall to leave their names and memorials on the Cumberland rocks and quarries, from whence the ſtone was procured, would induce them to do the like near that part of the wall which lies near Northumberland, where the ſtones for building were alſo in like manner procured.

THE quarries at Shawk, where this inſcription remains, are at this day the moſt famous in all the country, and by the immenſe quantity of ſtones which appear to have been taken from them, muſt certainly have been worked for ſeveral ages. There is no doubt, therefore, but that the Romans uſed them; and if not for the building that part of the wall which lies towards Burgh, or Bulneſs, yet for their ſtation at Olenacum, or Old Carliſle, near adjoining, or elſe for Luguballia, or the preſent Carliſle.

BEFORE I conclude this letter, I muſt obſerve, that the inſcription on the Helbeck Scar is placed, like this at Shawk, a conſiderable height above the ſurface of the ground on which the rock ſtands, and conſequently difficult of acceſs, and yet, in Mr. Camden's time, who deſcribes it, the words "Officium Roma-" norum" were legible juſt on the right ſide of the Roman inſcription, though now indeed much defaced. This, like the ſcroll, &c. which accompanies the Shawk inſcription, muſt have been the work of a later hand; and, by the form of the letter *m*, I ſhould pronounce it of the early Norman age. A human face is inſculped alſo juſt over the firſt word of the Roman inſcription, which is repreſented both in Camden and Horſley far leſs rude than it really is; for it appears on the ſtone almoſt as barbarous

as

as that which we ſee juſt below the Shawk Inſcription. I am, Gentlemen, with the moſt perfect eſteem and reſpect,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

CHA. CARLISLE.

XLVIII. *On the antient* Camelon, *and the* Picts; *by Mr.* Walker.

In a Letter to the Biſhop of CARLISLE.

Read May 28, 1767.

MY LORD,

SINCE my laſt, I have not had an occaſion of ſeeing old Taylor; but he is ſtill alive and well, and I hope ſoon to have an opportunity of viſiting him, when I ſhall take care to have the fulleſt account of him I can poſſibly obtain [*a*].

I HAVE written to the miniſter of Falkirk, in whoſe pariſh are the remains of the antient city Camelon, to be informed concerning

[*a*] The following account of this old man was accordingly received from Mr. J. Walker and J. Wells, 9th April, 1767, and read to the Society:

" John Taylor, ſon of Barnabas or Bernard (he calls him Barny) Taylor, by his wife Agnes Watſon, was born in Garry Gill in the pariſh of Aldſton in Cumberland. His father was a miner, and died when John was only four years old.

" John, when only nine years old, was ſet to work at dreſſing lead ore, which he followed for two years at two-pence a day: he then went below ground to aſſiſt the miners in removing the ore and rubbiſh, and had been thus employed for three or four years, when the great ſolar eclipſe, vulgarly called the *Mirk Monday*, happened, viz. on the 29th of March 1652; he being then at the bottom of a ſhaft or pit,

cerning the Pictiſh inſcriptions, ſaid to be found there. If the report be true, and if they are remarkable, I propoſe to viſit them myſelf when I go to Edinburgh in May, to our General Aſſembly.

pit, was deſired by the man at the top to call thoſe below to come out, becauſe a black cloud had darkened the ſun ſo, that the birds were falling to the earth. And this, which he always relates with the ſame circumſtances, is the only event he can relate by which his age may be aſcertained. He continued to work in the mines at Aldſton till he was about 26 years of age, when he was employed by one Doubledice, a quaker, in the lead mines at Black-Hall in the biſhoprick of Durham, where having wrought nine or ten years, he was ſent by him to view, and make a report of, ſome mines in the iſland of Iſlay; and was afterwards employed there as a miner and overſeer for ſeven or eight years. Upon leaving this place he returned to the North of England, and wrought at mines there and in the South of Scotland in a wandering manner, for many years, till he engaged himſelf in 1707 to work at the mint in Edinburgh, in coining the Scots money into Britiſh. The coinage being finiſhed, he went again to Iſlay, and in 1709 married his only wife, being then, as he ſays, between ſixty and ſeventy. He continued as a miner in Iſlay till 1730, when he came to Glaſgow; and, leaving his family there, went to the mines at Strontian in Argyleſhire, where he wrought about two years; and being ſeized with the ſcurvy, occaſioned by feeding on ſalt proviſions and drinking ſpirits, he returned to Glaſgow; and in 1733 came to Lead Hills, where he wrought conſtantly in the mines till 1752; but ſtill has the profits of a bargain (about 8 or 10*l.* per ann.) from the Scots mine company, which ſupports him comfortably.

His wife bore him nine children in Iſlay, four of which died young. His eldeſt, a daughter, born in 1710, was married, and died in 1735. Two ſons and two daughters are alive in this place (Lead Hills) and all married except the youngeſt, a ſon, born in 1730. His wife died in 1758.

He was always a thin ſpare man, about five feet four inches high, black haired, ruddy faced and long viſaged. His diet was always fleſh, and the ſtrongeſt he could procure; his drink malt liquor, and he would not refuſe a hearty bottle when it came in his way, though he could never be callèd a drunkard. His appetite was always remarkably good; and when obliged to go to work at midnight (as the miners often are) he could make as hearty a meal of fat beef or mutton then as at midday.—His appetite is ſtill good, and he muſt have a glaſs of ſpirits once or twice a day to warm his ſtomach, as he expreſſes it. His ſight and hearing are not greatly.

bly [*b*]. The place is diſtant from Edinburgh about twenty-four miles, and was originally a Roman town, being ſituate towards the Eaſtern extremity of the wall of Antoninus Pius. Upon the retreat of the Romans it became the capital of the Pictiſh kingdom; but Abernethy, ſituate on the banks of the Tay, was their chief ſeat during the later times of their monarchy. Camelon is the Guidi of Bede; and the place on which it ſtood, about half a mile from Falkirk, has been always known by the appearance of ruins, and the foundations of buildings. Buchanan relates, lib. iv. that a few years before his hiſtory was written, that is, about

greatly impaired; and his hair is not more grey than that of moſt people at the age of 50; though his eye-brows, which are remarkably buſhy, and his beard, are entirely white. His memory is pretty well, and he relates the different tranſactions of his life with great diſtinctneſs and a good deal of ſpirit.—In cold weather he lies much abed, but in the warm months he walks about with a ſtick, and is very little bowed down.—In October laſt he walked from his own houſe to Lead Hills (a computed mile), and having entertained his children and grand children in a public houſe, returned the ſame day.

The firſt ſickneſs he remembers to have had (for the ſmall-pox he had in his infancy) was about the year 1724, when he was ſeized with a dyſentery. He had a fever in the Highlands, which was attended with one remarkable circumſtance. Having been let blood, the wound broke open, and was not obſerved till the blood had run through the bed and floor into a lower room. The ſcurvy, which ſeized him there, continued to afflict him for ſeveral years after he came to Lead Hills; and during his wife's illneſs, in February 1758, he catched cold, and was ſeized with a diarrhaea, attended with feveriſh ſymptoms, which brought him very low. But ſince his recovery, he has not had the leaſt complaint, nor does he remember to have had any ſickneſs but what is above mentioned.—He never ſlept much; and he ſays, that, when he wrought in Durham, his buſineſs for four years was to attend a fire-engine; during which time he was allowed no more than four hours ſleep in the 24, and he bore it very well. The miners are obliged to work at all hours, and he never found any difference of times with regard to working, ſleeping, or eating.

[*b*] Mr. Atcheſon, miniſter of Falkirk, informed Mr. Walker, that there were no inſcriptions nor any letter on any of the ſtones found at Camelon, only a little carving on one or two of them. R. G.

two hundred years ago, there were ſome veſtiges of the ſtreets remaining; that the walls were ſtill viſible in many places; and that, upon digging, ſquare ſtones were diſcovered, which were uſed for building in the neighbourhood. But, ſince his time, even theſe ruins have been ruined; though there is ſtill ſome appearance of the foundations of an antient city.

PREVIOUS to the Roman invaſion, I am inclined to think, that there was no ſuch thing as any town in this country; and that the forts and ſtations of the Romans, upon their retreat, gave riſe to moſt of our preſent towns in the South of Scotland. And though the Britains were a people much more civilized, and were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral conſiderable towns at Caeſar's arrival, yet, if I miſtake not, many of the preſent towns in England owe their riſe, in the ſame manner, to Roman ſettlements.

I SHALL be very happy, if the inſcriptions ſaid to be dug up at Camelon ſhould turn out to be Pictiſh, as I have long wiſhed for ſome ſatisfactory light in the hiſtory of the Picts, that memorable, yet obſcure people; for never, ſurely, was there a European nation ſo loſt in oblivion, or of whom ſo few authentic traces remain, even in the country which they inhabited; inſomuch that one of our beſt Scots antiquaries, with whom I lately converſed, Lord Auchinleck, one of the judges, was plainly of your Lordſhip's ſentiments, in queſtioning if ever ſuch people exiſted, I mean, diſtinct from the Britiſh and Caledonians.

BISHOP Stillingfleet's opinion, I muſt own, however, always impreſſed me; " that they were a Scandinavian race, originally " different, though afterwards in part exterminate, and in part " mixed with the Britiſh and Scots [*b*]."

THE

[*b*] The Scythians, who migrated Weſtward from the Palus Maeotis (their firſt ſettlement) were, in proceſs of time, diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral names, too many to

THE biſhop's antiquities I have not at hand, nor can I recollect preciſely all his arguments; but, from ſeveral notes before me, ſome of them written long ago, I ſhall mention thoſe things that have occurred to me which make for his opinion.

I. THE Scots hiſtorians, and Bede, give a circumſtantial account of the firſt ſettlement of the Picts, a different race from the Britiſh, in Scotland.

II. THAT Scotland, during the time of the Roman invaſion, ſubſiſted under two different monarchies, appears not only from all the Scots hiſtory we have of the times, but from Bede, from the moſt authentic writers, for an age or two, both before and after this aera, and even from the Roman writers.

Is it not evident from Bede's authority alone, who lived while the Pictiſh nation ſtill ſubſiſted?

III. EUMENIUS, in his panegyric to the Emperor Conſtantius, relates, that, before the firſt arrival of Caeſar in this iſland, the Britains had been accuſtomed to no other enemies but the Picts and Iriſh.

to be enumerated here; and from many authorities it appears, that it was that nation of them who were the Getae, or Getes, that paſſed very rapidly, and in very early times, into Scandinavia, and overſpread Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the iſlands of the Baltic. Of theſe, a colony, called the Picts, came into Britain and Ireland, and multiplied exceedingly in both iſlands, and were a diſtinct people; in the one, from the Iriſh Scots, and in the other, from the Britons and Caledonian Scots, who were the ſame people with the Iriſh. Venerable Bede ſays, they came over from the Northern abodes in long boats: for it appears from a very ancient Iriſh record, that Heremon, the ſon of Mileſius, drove them out of Ireland into Scotland, which increaſed their numbers in the latter to a prodigious degree, from which expulſion there was not one left in Ireland; but they were a very formidable people in Britain many centuries after.

Venerable Bede makes them a diſtinct people in another place; in ch. i. of his Eccleſ. Hiſt. he ſays: " Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, poſt Britones et " Pictos, Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit," &c.

Note, At that period, and for a long time after, Scots and Iriſh were but different names of the ſame people.

IV. The Picts, as Adamnanus ſtiles them, were "Gentiles "barbari," till the arrival of Columba among them, an. 566, who was the firſt Chriſtian miſſionary received into their country. Whereas the Britons embraced Chriſtianity in the apoſtolic age, and the Scots about the end of the ſecond century. Is it to be ſuppoſed then, that the Picts would have rejected Chriſtianity for between three and four hundred years after it was adopted by the two adjoining nations, if they had not been widely different from them in their laws, manners, ſuperſtitions, and original?

The Scandinavian nations ſhewed a greater averſion to Chriſtianity than any others in Europe. Norway did not embrace it till the year 935, nor the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkneys till the year 995.

V. Tacitus obſerves of the inhabitants of Caledonia, meaning the Picts, that their red hair denoted them to be of German offspring. But, had he been acquainted with the more northerly nations, it as ſtrongly argued them to be of Scandinavian extract; as that colour prevails ſtill more over all the kingdom of Norway, than even in Germany, and it ſtill ſubſiſts copiouſly in all the Pictiſh parts of Scotland, derived probably from the very people whom Tacitus deſcribes. Whereas the Highlanders are a black-haired people, except in the iſles, where great numbers of them have the red hair and complexion of Scandinavia; and accordingly theſe are known, by very clear tradition, to be the progeny of the Norwegians, who were long ſettled among them.

Quaere. Are the antient Britiſh recorded as remarkable for having or wanting the red complexion?

VI. That the Scots and Picts could not underſtand one another in their reſpective languages, is pretty certain, and I find one remarkable inſtance of it. Adamnanus, who was abbot of Icolmkil,

Icolmkil, an. 665, and the fourth in ſucceſſion from the founder Columba, in his life of that famous monk, publiſhed by Caniſius and Baſnage, relates, that when he paſſed over to the main land of Scotland, to preach the goſpel, for the firſt time, to the Pictiſh nation, he ſpoke to them by an interpreter.

Now, ſo far as I can recollect, the Britiſh and Scots in thoſe days had no occaſion for ſuch a medium. Their language could not then be ſo different. It was originally the ſame, and though ſince divided into the dialects of Breton, Corniſh, Welſh, Manks, Iriſh, and Galic, and greatly altered by diſtance of place and length of time, yet the natives of the ſix countries can go near to underſtand one another to this day without an interpreter. Does not this ſtrongly inſinuate, that the language of the Picts was different from any dialect of the Britiſh?

VII. There does not exiſt, that I know of, any authentic monument of the language or characters of the Picts, nor even any certain account of the language or character they uſed. I ſuſpect, indeed, that their language was Scandinavian, and their character Runic; and, among other things, from this circumſtance, that all the Runic inſcriptions, diſcovered in Scotland, have been found in that part of the country which was occupied by the Picts.

VIII. The bulk of thoſe words, uſually accounted Scots, I find provincial in ſome part or other of England; but the remaining words and expreſſions that are ſtrictly ſo, and which exiſt no where in England, I find either in Sweden and Norway, or in France. The latter owing to our long connection with that kingdom; the former, if I miſtake not, to our Pictiſh predeceſſors.

IX. Over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, many of the names of places and perſons are of Scandinavian extraction, and they are purer and more numerous, as we advance Northward, to where the Saxons did not penetrate. Theſe

names

names are widely different from thoſe in any other part of Britain, and a collection of them would plainly ſhew that they are not of Britiſh origin.

A CURIOUS inſtance of the ſame nature, though foreign to the preſent ſubject, we have in this neighbourhood. The river Nith, at preſent the boundary between Galloway and Dumfrieſhire, was, of old, the boundary between the Northumbrians of the Heptarchy, and the Scots. Accordingly, to this day, the names of the places on the one ſide of the river are all Saxon, and on the other ſide Celtic.

X. THE height at which navigation ſubſiſted in Scandinavia in the very early ages, the migrating diſpoſition of its inhabitants, and the vicinity of Scotland, are circumſtances which add to the probability of their ſettlement in this country.

THESE obſervations, my Lord, I have mentioned, not as a proof, but as probable arguments in favour of biſhop Stillingfleet's opinion; though archbiſhop Uſher takes the Picts and Caledonians for the ſame nation; and Camden conſiders the Picts only as the remote part of the uncivilized unreduced Britains. The diſcovery of any Pictiſh inſcriptions at Camelon would be a valuable acquiſition in this branch of antiquity, and would probably decide the queſtion concerning the origin of that nation. I ſhall not fail, therefore, to communicate to your Lordſhip the firſt ſatisfactory information I receive.

BY looking into Adamnanus's Life of Columba, I was directed to the origin and etymology of the primacy of Armagh. He makes frequent mention of a monaſtery founded in Ireland by Columba, before he came into Scotland, by the name of "Mo-"naſterium roboreti campi, et roboris campi," and upon ſeveral occaſions deſcribes the anxiety which Columba entertained for its ſucceſs and proſperity. What place in Ireland was meant by this name, I could not deviſe, till looking into Bede, I found, he obſerves concerning the metropolian ſeat in Ireland, that it was called

called in the language of the Scots *De Armach*, or field of oaks, which is a ſlight alteration from the preſent Galic orthography of the word ſignifying an oak wood, which is *darrach*. The "Monaſterium Roboretum" of Adamnanus is plainly the Latin tranſlation of this word, and, no doubt, the ſame place with the preſent Armagh [*c*].

I have the honour to be, with the higheſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

Moffat, April 28, 1767.

JOHN WALKER.

[*c*] Armach cannot be derived from the word for an oak, and the place of its growth, in the Iriſh tongue; becauſe the word for an oak is *dair*, and ſometimes *dairvre*. Armach is compounded of two words without the leaſt mutilation, *arm* and *mach*; *arm* ſignifies *arma* arms, and *mach* a place, country, or territory; ſo that it is moſt naturally "a place of arms."

As to Venerable Bede's appellation, the particle *de* is only a prepoſitive particle, as is practiſed now in many local titles, and always was both in Latin and French: and, if taken away, it leaves the *armach* intire; whereas if *dair* was the firſt part of this compound word, and the *d* taken away, it would be changed to *airmach*, which would ſignify an airy place, inſtead of a place of oaks. This ſhews, that the writer of Columba's life was miſtaken, who ſhould have rendered the *Armach* "Armorum "campi," inſtead of "Roboris campi."

XLIX. *Diſſer-*

XLIX. *Diſſertation Litteraire ſur une Colonie* Egiptiene *etablie à* Athènes: *Preſentée à l' illuſtre Academie des Antiquaires de* Londres. *Par* Fred. Samuel Schmidt *de* Berne.

Read February 18, 1762.

JE trouve un plaiſir ſenſible à rechercher l' origine des arts et des ſciences, et à ſuivre les progrès qu'ils ont fait ſucceſſivement dans les tems de la plus haute antiquité. Je les vois naiſſans et comme au berceau en Egipte; je les conſidere dès là portés en Grèce, ou ils montent inſenſiblement au plus haut degré de perfection.

En Egipte j'admire une noble ſimplicité dans les arts, jointe à une grande ſolidité. En Grèce, j' y remarque beaucoup d' art, de feu, et une heureuſe hardieſſe.

Dans les ſciences, je vois le ſombre, le miſtérieux Egiptien couvrir ſes dogmes d'un voile épais, repandre l'obſcurité et les tenèbres ſur ſa doctrine: d'un autre côté j'obſerve le Grec, amateur des nouveautés, faiſant tous les jours des changemens à ſa théologie, ajoutant, retranchant à ſa fantaiſie, et embrouillant ſi fort cette ſcience, qu'elle ſe trouve aujourd'hui remplie de toutes ſortes de contradictions et d'abſurdités.

Mais à travers ces changemens, je reconois toujours les Dieux Egiptiens dans la Gréce. Malgré tout ce que les Grecs ont pû faire pour cacher l'origine de leur théologie, il eſt aiſé de lever le maſque, et de découvrir qu'ils ont reçu leur culte des Egiptiens. Il eſt aiſé auſſi de démontrer, que c'eſt à l'Egipte que la Grèce eſt redevable des arts.

Pour ſe convaincre de cette vérité, il n'y a qu'à lire l'excellent ouvrage de Mr. le Comte de Caylus, qui fait voir en tant d'endroits,

droits, avec évidence, l'affinité des monumens Egiptiens avec ceux des anciens Grecs.

TRANSPORTES vous en Grèce, examinés la, comme elle étoit dans l'antiquité la plus reculée; vous y verréz celebrer les miſtères d'Iſis et d'Oſiris, tout comme ils etoient en Egipte: vous verrés les Athéniens offrants, au lieu de boeufs, des gâteaux qui en avoient l'empreinte, de l'eau, au lieu du vin, conformément aux rits Egiptiens; vous verréz ce même peuple ſe ſervant de monoïes ſur lesquelles ſont repréſentés les Sphynx, animaux emblematiques des Egiptiens. Vous ne verréz que des ſtatües de bois, d'une attitude ſimple, et le plus ordinairement terminées en gaine; en un mot, vous ne croiréz point que vous ſoïéz en Grèce, mais plutôt en Egipte.

CETTE affinité eſt ſi grande et ſi manifeſte, que perſone ne peut nier qu'on n'en puiſſe inferer avec raiſon, qu'il y a eu une comunication entre ces deux peuples; ſoit qu'elle ſe ſoit faite par les Thraces, anciens coloniſtes Egiptiens, qui enſuite allerent s'établir en Grece, come je l'ai prouvé dans une diſſertation ſur ce ſujet: ſoit qu'elle doive être atribuée aux Egiptiens eux mêmes, qui en diférens tems ont conduit des colonies en Grèce, comme ſont celles d'Argos et d'Athènes. C'eſt de cette derniére colonie que je me propoſe de traiter dans cette diſſertation.

JE n'ai point deſſein d'entrer dans tout le détail, où cette matiére me paroit naturellement inviter; mais je me bornerai plûtôt à l'éxamen des præuves les plus ſenſibles et les plus fortes, qui établiſſent cette colonie: telles que ſont, 1. les témoignages des anciens auteurs: 2. les rois d'Athenes Egiptiens: 3. le culte de Minerve d'Athenes, le même que celui de Mitha ou Minerve Egiptienne honorée à Saïs.

I. PLATON, ce grand philoſophe, au quel perſone ne ſauroit refuſer croïance, aſſûre, que les Saïtes [a] ont une prédilection

[a] Edition de Serranus, Tome III. pag. 21. cet auteur dit des Saïtes, μάλα δὲ φιλαθήναιοι καί τινα τρόπον οἰκεῖοι τῶνδε εἶναι φασίν.

pour les Athèniens, et qu'ils ſont en quelque façon leurs parents. Procle, dans ſes commentaires ſur le paſſage du Timé [*b*], que je viens de citer, ajoute que les anciens ſont partagés à ce ſujet ; que Calliſthènes et Phanodemus [*c*] avançoient que les Saïtes Egiptiens étoient une colonie des Athéniens ; qu'au contraire Theopompus [*d*] ſoutenoit ſans vanité, aïant uniquement égard au vrai, que les Athèniens étoient une colonie Egiptienne des Saïtes. Il avoit de ſon côté le témoignage des Egiptiens, qui, entre pluſieurs colonies ſorties de leur païs, ſe vantoient à juſte titre d'en avoir conduit une à Athènes [*e*]. Diodore de Sicile nous l'aprend, en diſant : " On aſſûre que les Athèniens ſont une colonie des Saïtes, " peuples de l'Egipte." Cet auteur s'étend fort au long là deſſus, en alléguant toutes les raiſons ſur leſquelles ce ſentiment eſt fondé. Je les citerai à meſure que j'en aurai beſoin, dans le cours de cette diſſertation, et je tâcherai de prouver, que Diodore a trop écouté l'ambition, et l'amour propre des Grecs, lors qu'en finiſſant cet article il dit : " Voilà de quoi ceuxci ſe vantent, avec " plus de zèle, à mon avis, pour la gloire de leur nation, que " pour la verité, en ajoutant, que la magnificence de leurs rois, " et le nombre prodigieux des premiers habitans de l'Egipte a " été la cauſe des tranſmigrations que nous venons de marquer, et " de pluſieurs autres, que nous paſſons ſous ſilence ; parceque nous " ne les voïons ſoutenües d'aucune preuve aſſés ſenſible, ou at- " teſtés par aucun monument aſſés certain."

II. Le conducteur de cette colonie de Saïtes étoit Cecrops ; Jean Tſetzes l'aſſûre dans ces vers [*f*] :

[*b*] Procle. liv. i. p. 30.
[*c*] Epitre d'Apoll. Thyaneus aux Saïtes.
[*d*] Eusèbe P. Evang. x. 10. p. 491.
[*e*] Ed. de Weſſeling. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 33. Καὶ τὰς Αθηναίας δέ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαϊτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.
[*f*] Var. Hiſt. Chil. xviii. ver. 28.

" Ut

" Ut autem a Saï urbe Aegyptia,
" Poſt Ogygium illud diluvium,
" Cecrops venit Athenas Graeciae [g].

SANS m'arrêter à un fait auſſi conu, je tâcherai de prouver ſa vérité par la langue Coſte, en démontrant, que le nom de Cecrops eſt Egiptien, ce qui eſt le plus ſûr argument pour prouver que l'Egipte eſt le païs, d'où ce héros vint s'ètablir à Athènes.

CECROPS étoit prononcé en Egipte Cecrop, car il eſt certain, que c'étoit la coûtume des Grecs d'ajouter la lettre *s* à la fin d'un mot finiſſant par *p*; ainſi au lieu de Pelop, les Grecs diſoient Pelops, et dans un autre cas Pelopa, preuve que la lettre *s* n'eſt pas de l'eſſence du mot. *Cecrop*, en Egiptien ϭⲓⲅⲣⲁϥ *Sigraph*, ſignifie *conjunctio*, *miſtio*, *complexio* [h]. C'eſt éfectivement le nom que les anciens donnoient à Cecrops, qui eſt apellé Διφυὴς, ceſt à dire " duplicis et mixtae naturae," et il exprime au juſte le mot de *Sigraph* Egiptien. Les auteurs, qui nous apprennent que Cecrops a été appelle de ce nom, ſont en grand nombre; mais ils difèrent beaucoup quant à l'explication qu'ils en donent. Il y en a qui croient qu'il porte ce nom, parce qu'il a eu en haut la forme d'un homme, et en bas celle d'un ſerpent. Ariſtophane [i] paroit favoriſer cette expoſition en ſalutant Cecrops de cette maniere:

Ω Κέκροψ, ἥρως, ἄναξ, τὰ
πρὸς ποδῶν δρακοντίδη.

D'AUTRES aſſûrent, que c'eſt parce qu'il fut le premier qui inſtitua à Athènes le mariage. " Ante Deucalionis tempora," dit Juſtin [k], " Athenae regem habuere Cecropem, quem, ut omnis

[g] V. auſſi Suidas, Cedrenus, et principalement Meurſius de Regg. Athenienſ. liv. i. ch. 6.

[h] πι-ϭⲓⲅⲣⲁϥ, *miſtio*, الزج, Kircheri Scala, 476.

[i] Veſp. 444.

[k] Hiſt. liv. ii. 6.

" fabuloſa eſt antiquitas, biformem tradidere, qui primus marem
" foeminae matrimonio junxit."

Il y en a enfin qui diſent que c'eſt à cauſe de ſa grandeur giganteſque, par laquelle il ſurpaſſoit de la moitié les autres homes; ou peut-être parce qu'il ſavoit les deux langues, la Greque et l'Egiptienne.

Voici des vers de Jean Tſetzes à ce ſujet [*l*].

" Primus omnium in Attica regnat Cecrops,
" Primus qui (Διφυὴς) biformis dictus fuit, in hunc modum;
" Vel quod magnitudine duorum hominum proceritatem aequaret,
" Vel quod Graecae linguae et Aegyptiae peritus, &c."

Toutes les explications, que je viens de raporter, peuvent avoir leur fondement et conviennent au mot Sigraph, ou Διφυὴς; il ſe peut même, que ſuivant la conjecture de Milord Comte de Winchilſea [*m*], on doit expliquer, ſur ce fondement, les doubles têtes qu'on voit ſur quelques médailles d'Athènes. Ces têtes adoſſées, repréſentations emblèmatiques, paroiſſent être d'origine Egiptienne, d'où elles furent portées en Grèce et en Etrurie; leur explication eſt fort obſcure, et je n'ai rien de nouveau à ajouter ſur leur ſujet, à ce qui en a été dit en dernier lieu par Mr. le Comte de Caylus [*n*].

L'arrivee de Cecrops à Athènes eſt le commencement de l'Ere Attique, et la principale date des Marbres de Paros. Ce cher et précieux monument de la chronologie ancienne met Cecrops 373 ans avant la priſe de Troïe. Euſebe le met 375. Syncelle, au contraire, 616. Mais de quel authorité peut être cet auteur, quand il eſt en contradiction avec les marbres d'Arundel, avec Euſebe, et avec Cenſorin, qui après l'heureuſe reſtitution [*o*]

[*l*] V. Hiſt. Chil. ver. 18.
[*m*] Haym Teſoro Britannico, part i. pag. 156.
[*n*] Tom. II. pag. 149.
[*o*] Reſtitution Chron. d'un endroit de Cenſorin par Mr. Boïvin l'aîné dans les Mem. de Lit. de l'Ac. R. des Inſc. Tom. IV. pag. 33, et ſuivantes.

qu'en

qu'en a fait Mr. Boivin, met un peu moins de 400 ans, depuis Cerops juſqu'à la priſe de Troïe. L'arrivée de ce coloniſte Egiptien peut donc être placée avec Selden et Marſham [*p*] dans l'année 3132 de la periode Julienne.

Honorius, Freculphus, et Auguſtin, diſent, que le peuple d'Iſräel ſortit d'Egipte dans le tems que Cecrops règnoit à Athènes, ce qui convient à l'antiquité que je viens de donner à ce héros.

Cecrops porta aux Grecs les coutumes et les rites Egiptiens; principalement le reſpect pour les bêtes animés, dont il ne vouloit pas qu'on fit uſage pour les ſacrifices. Il défendoit de même l'uſage du vin dans les ofrandes, ſuivant les coutumes des Egiptiens, dont les égards pour les animaux, et l'horreur pour le vin ſont conus. C'eſt ainſi que Pauſanias [*q*] nous apprend, que Cecrops n'a pas voulu qu'on immolat à ſon Dieu Jupiter des choſes qui euſſent eu la vie; mais ſeulment des liba, ferta, ou gateaux, que les Atheniens appelloient πελάνες.

Mais comment concilier ce que j'avance avec Euſebe [*r*], et pluſieurs autres anciens, qui diſent, " que Cecrops ofrit des boeufs à " ſon dieu[*s*]?" Le grand Meurſius a parfaitement levé cette contradiction apparente, en faiſant voir que ces Πέλανοι, ou gâteaux, des Athéniens [*t*], dont on ſe ſervoit dans les ſacrifices avoient des cornes, et que par cette raiſon on les apelloit des boeufs; qu'on leur donnoit cette figure, par ce qu'on les mettoit et ofroit à la place de ces animaux ſi honorés en Egipte. C'eſt de cette façon qu'on peut expliquer ce que Diogene Laërce [*u*] raconte, que l'Empedocle immola aux dieux un Boeuf, de miel, et de farine.

[*p*] Marſham, § viii. Seld. Com. ſur les marbres d'Arundel.
[*q*] Arcadica.
[*r*] Iſid. Hiſpal. Orig. viii. 11.
[*s*] Cedrenus, Gotfridus Viterbienſis, Chron. partie iv. de Regg. Athen. ch. 9.
[*t*] Pollux, Liv. vi. ch. 11. Heſych. βῶς, εἶδος πέμματος.
[*u*] Liv. viii. ch. 53.

On

On ne faiſoit point uſage du vin au rapport de Pauſanias [*w*] dans les ſacrifices de Jupiter, dont le culte fut introduit par Cecrops. Ce heros eſt mis par cet endroit dans le Zodiaque, a la place de l'Aquarius; c'eſt ce que Hygin [*x*] nous aprend, en diſant: " Eubulus autem Cecropem Aquarium eſſe demonſtrat, anti- " quitatem generis commemorans, et oſtendens, antequam vinum " traditum ſit hominibus, aqua in ſacrificiis deorum uſos eſſe, et " ante Cecropem regnaſſe quam vinum inventum ſit." Euripide [*y*] met de même la coupe de l'Aquarius dans les mains de Cecrops.

Καὶ εἰσόδες δὲ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας,
Σπείρας συνειλίσσουσ', Ἀθηναίων τινὸς
Ἀνάθημα· χρυσέας τ' ἐν μέσῳ συσσιτίῳ
Κρατῆρας ἔσησ'.

" Ad januam vero Cecropem prope filias,
" Involutum nodis, Athenienſium cujuſdam
" Donarium; aureoſque in medio convivio
" Crateres ſtatuit."

Plutarque [*z*] nous apprend, que les Egiptiens avoient le vin en horreur, le regardant come le ſang des impies, qui firent autrefois la guerre aux dieux. C'eſt de là que vient l'abomination [*a*] que les Mages, les Gnoſtiques, les Arabes, les Brachmanes, et les Moines de la Chine, ont pour le fruit des vignes; et c'eſt pour diſtinguer ſon peuple du reſte des nations idolatres, que Dieu a introduit ſous le Vieux Teſtament l'uſage du vin, auſſi fréquent dans ſes ofrandes.

[*w*] In Atticis.
[*x*] Poet. Aſtron.
[*y*] In Ione, ver. 1165.
[*z*] De Iſ. Tom. II. pag. 353.
[*a*] M. Michaelis s'erend fort au long à ce ſujet dans les Mem. de l'Acad. R. de Gottingen, Tom. IV. 108. dans une Diſſert. qui a pour titre, " De Legibus Moſis " Palaeſtinam populo caram facturis."

Sans

Sans entrer dans la diſcuſſion exacte des ſciences et des arts, que ce coloniſte aprit aux Athéniens [*b*], je finirai ſon article par ce que Tacite nous aprend, que Cecrops donna un alphabet aux Athéniens [*c*]. Ces lettres ſont plus anciennes que celles de Cadmus [*d*], et cet alphabet contenoit les vieilles lettres Attiques. C'eſt avec ces caractères qu'étoit gravée l'inſcription de Mégare, le plus ancien monument de pierre que Pauſanias [*e*] eût vû en Grèce, et qui fut trouvé dans le tombeau de Corebus, et érigé peu de tems aprés la mort de Cecrops.

De ce premier conducteur des Egiptiens à Athènes, je paſſe au ſecond, qui eſt *Erictonius*.

Les hiſtoriens [*f*] et les chronologiſtes anciens font mention de deux diférens rois d'Athènes, qui ont porté le même nom, et qui pour cette raiſon ont ſouvent été confondus. Ils s'appelloient Erechteus ou Erichtonius. Ces deux noms ſont les mêmes ſelon les ſcholiaſtes d'Homère [*g*]; un d'entr'eux a été le quatriéme, et l'autre le ſixiéme, des rois d'Athènes.

C'est du prémier de ce deux rois que Diodore de Sicile [*h*] nous apprend, qu'il étoit Egiptien d'origine; et que dans les tems d'une grande famine qui déſoloit l'Attique, ce heros apporta du bled aux Athéniens, à cauſe de l'alliance [*i*] que ceux ci avoient avec les Egiptiens, ceſt à dire, à cauſe de la colonie établie auparavant par Cécrops.

Pour le recompenſer de ſes bienfaits, les Athéniens le reconurent pour leur roi, et donérent à ſon frére *Butes* le ſacerdoce de

[*b*] Annales, Liv. xi. ch. 14.
[*c*] Ἀττικὰ γράμματα τὰ ἀρχαῖα.
[*d*] Heſych. Pauſan. Liv. iv. ch. 19.
[*e*] Pauſan. Liv. i. ch. 43.
[*f*] Sigonius de Tempp. Athen.
[*g*] Homère, Il. B. ver. 552.
[*h*] Liv. i. Tom. I. 33. Ed. de Weſſeling, et pag. 57. Tom. I. de la Trad. de M. l'Abbé Terraſſon.
[*i*] Il y a dans le Grec διὰ τὴν ἐυγένειαν, " propter cognationis vinculum."

Minerve

Minerve et de Neptune. On raconte auſſi qu'*Erichtonius* aprit aux Eleuſiniens les miſtères de Ceres. Ne pourroit on point expliquer cela du moins en partie de la proviſion de bled, que ce coloniſte Egiptien leur procura, et de l'art de l'agriculture qu'il perfectiona dans ces païs?

Les etymologies ridicules des grammariens, qui ont voulu expliquer le nom d'Erichtonius par la langue Grèque, m'ont engagé à chercher plûtôt dans la langue Egiptienne, et dans la patrie de ce heros, l'etymologie de ſon nom. Je me flatte, que l'on trouvera aſſés probable celle que je vai donner. Le mot ancien Egiptien eſt Erichto; de là les Grecs ont fait Erictheus, Ericthonius, come d'Apollo, Apollonius. Ce nom eſt compoſé de epr *facere, rei alicujus auctorem eſſe,* et ϩοο [*k*] *chto* ou *ichto, equus, equitatus.* De là *Eri-chto, author equitatus et equorum.* C'eſt l'emploi que les anciens donnoient unanimemént à Erichtonius.

Virgile en ces vers, Georg. iii. v. 113.

" Primus Ericthonius currus et quatuor auſus
" Jungere equos, rapidiſque rotis inſiſtere victor."

Servius [*l*], Ariſtide, et d'autres confirment tous, que ce heros dompta le premier les chevaux, et les attela à ſon char.

C'est pour éterniſer la mémoire de cette invention, qu'Ericthonius a été placé après ſa mort au ciel, et que dans la ſphère des anciens il eſt repréſenté ſous les noms d'Auriga, d'Agitator, ou de Heniochus. C'eſt ce que Germanicus nous aprend dans ces vers, que je cite d'après un manuſcrit de la Bibliothèque de Berne, qui

[*k*] Il y a aparence qu'avant la conſone du mot ϩοο *chto*, les Egiptiens mettoient la voïelle *i*, ce qui feroit *er-ichto.*

Er, ar, eri, iri, reviennent toujours dans langue Coftè: de là Oſiri ⲱⲥϩ-ipi, le *Nil* et le *Soleil* ſignifient le dieu, auteur de la moiſſon et des fruits. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟ خيل ⲡⲓ-ϩⲟⲟ غرس.

[*l*] Kirch. Scala, 166. Verſion Cofte, Gen. xl. 17. et xlix. 19.

difère ici, côme en bien d'autres endroits, de l'edition de Morel [*m*], dont j'ai coutume de me ſervir.

" Eſt etiam aurigae facies, ſive Attide terrâ
" Natus Erichthonius, qui primus ſub juga duxit
" Quadrupedes; ſeu Myrtoas demerſus in undas,
" Myrtilus hunc potius ſpecies in ſidere reddit.
" Sic nulli currus, ſic ruptis moeſtus habenis,
" Perfidia Pelopis raptam gemit Hippodamiam."

Voici ce que Hygin [*n*] dit à ce ſujet: " Heniochus, hunc nos " Aurigam Latine dicimus nomine Erichthonium, ut Eratoſthenes " monſtrat; quem Jupiter, cum vidiſſet primum inter homines " equos quadrigis junxiſſe, admiratus eſt ingenium hominis ad " ſolis inventa acceſſiſſe." Avienus dans ſes Phénomènes le nomme auſſi Aurigator, et lui donne cet emploi dans les vers ſuivans:

———" Ille impiger autem
" Pulcher Erichthonius currus et quatuor auſus
" Junxit equos."

Mais ce qui confirme le plus mon etymologie, et répand une nouvelle lumiére ſur cette colonie, c'eſt qu'Erichtonius et Erichteus, eſt un de prénoms des Neptune [*o*]. Lycrophon, Tſetzes, Heſychius, et d'autres anciens, diſent qu'Erichteus eſt Neptune parmi les Athèniens: Plutarque [*p*] en deux diférens endroits fait mention du ſacerdoce de Neptune Erichthonius [*q*]. Ce dieu eſt

[*m*] N'aïant point vû l'edition de Germanicus publiée par Grotius, je ne ſai ſi ces variations s'y trouvent déja.

[*n*] Poet. Aſtron. II. 13.

[*o*] Caſſandre, verſ. 158. Coment. de Tſetzes, pag. 32. Edit. Greque de Bâle. Heſych. Ἐρεχθεύς, Ποσειδὼν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

[*p*] Athenagoras, Leg. pro Chriſt.

[*q*] Plutarque, Vie de Lycurgue.

ainſi nommé, ſuivant ma conjecture, parce que c'eſt lui que l'on a crû être le premier inventeur et l'auteur de l'equitation des Grecs: Sophocle et Diodore de Sicile atteſtent cette verité. Pauſanias [*r*] parle d'une ſtatue equeſtre de Neptune érigée à Athènes, et pour rendre raiſon du prénom ἵππιος, qu'on donoit anciennement à Neptune, il a recours à l'invention de l'equitation, de laquelle il prouve qu'elle étoit attribuée à ce dieu. Les Hymnes de Homère donent deux emplois à Neptune, celui de l'equitation, et celui de la navigation.

Διχθά τοι, ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο,
Ἵππων τε δμηῆῤ ἔμεναι, σωῆράά τε νηῶν.

C'ETOIT la même choſe en Italie: les Etruſques repréſentoient auſſi Neptune trainé dans un char; c'eſt ainſi que nous le voions dans un monument de cette nation publié par Demſter [*s*]. C'eſt par la même raiſon que Romulus dédia à ce dieu les fêtes appellées Conſualia [*t*], dans leſquelles on avoit coutume de couroner les chevaux.

LES anciens vont même plus loin; Neptune n'eſt pas ſeulement l'inventeur de l'equitation, mais c'eſt lui qui a crée et produit le premier cheval. Rien de ſi comun dans les auteurs de mythologie que la fable touchant Neptune, qui en frappant la terre par ſon trident en fit ſortir le premier cheval. Deux paſſages des anciens poëtes me ſerviront ici de preuve. Voici le premier, qui eſt tiré de Lucain [*u*]:

" Primus ab aequorea percuſſis cuſpide ſaxis
" Theſſalicus ſonipes, bellis feralibus omen,
" Exiliit."

VIRGILE [*w*] nous aprend la même choſe dans le vers ſuivans:

——" Tuque ô, cui prima frementem
" Fudit equum magno tellus percuſſa tridenti,
" Neptune."

[*r*] Pauſan. Attica, p. in 2. Achaica, 227.
[*s*] Tab. 74. et Gorius Muſ. Etr. Tom. II. 169.
[*t*] Denis d'Halicarnaſſe, pag. 26. Ed. de Silburg.
[*u*] Pharſ. vi. 396.
[*w*] Georg. i. 12.

CE

Ce n'eſt donc point ſans raiſon que Neptune eſt appellé Erechteus. Ce nom lui convient dans toute ſa ſignification. Il eſt non ſeulement l'inventeur de l'equitation, mais auſſi le dieu qui fit préſent aux homes des chevaux; c'eſt à juſte titre que Pamphus le plus ancien hymnographe d'Athèns l'appelle ἵππων δοτῆρα.

Peut-être me fera-t'on ici deux queſtions; pourquoi, demanderat'on, ce coloniſte Egiptien eſt il appellé Erechteus ou Neptune? Et pourquoi les anciens ont ils atribué l'equitation à l'un et à l'autre? Seroit-ce parce que les Egiptiens, qui vinrent par mer en Grèce, furent en même tems les premiers auteurs de l'equitation des Grecs? Cette réponſe ne me ſatisfait point, et j'en ai une autre qui me paroit plus ſolide, fondée ſur ce, que l'equitation dans les tems les plus anciens étoit l'emblème de la navigation. Cette vérité a été démontrée par Monſieur Fréret, dans ſes ingénieuſes réflexions ſur les fondemens hiſtoriques de la Fable de Bellerophon [*x*]: le Pégaſe de ce héros, n'eſt, ſuivant cet auteur, qu'un vaiſſeau dont il ſe ſervit dans ſes expéditions. Ainſi Neptune, dans ſa diſpute avec Minerve, fit ſortir le cheval de la terre; c. à d. qu'il conſeilla aux Athèniens la navigation. Minerve de ſon côté en fit ſortir l'olivier; c. à d. qu'elle conſeilla l'agriculture.

De là il réſulte, qu'Erichthonius qui arriva en Grèce avec des vaiſſeaux chargés de bled, étoit ainſi nommé, parce que d'Egipte il vint par mer pour ſoulager les Atheniens ſes anciens compatriotes.

Quelle pourroit être enfin la raiſon pourquoi les anciens ont repréſenté la navigation ſous l'embléme de l'equitation [*y*]? Eſt ce à cauſe de la viteſſe de courſes, et de l'affinité qu'ils trouvoient entre ces deux façons de voïager? Eſt ce à cauſe des répréſentations ſur la proue des vaiſſeaux? Pourroit on peutêtre l'expliquer de la tête

[*x*] Hiſt. de l'Acad. R. des Inſc. et Belles L. Tom. IV. Ed. d'Amſt. pag. 57. et ſuiv.

[*y*] Voies la deſſus le docte Comment. de Meurſius ſur Lycophron pag. 336. ἱππεύειν νῆες δοκοῦσιν ἐχήματος τρόπον· dit le Scholiaſte d'Euripide; Phoeniſſ.

de cheval ſimbole de Carthage, ville fondée par une flotte de Phéniciens? Seroit-ce de cette manière, qu'on doit entendre la priſe de Troïe atribuée au cheval de bois, c. à d. à un vaiſſeau rempli de ſoldats. Il paroit que Plaute [*z*] fait alluſion à cette fable en diſant:

" Nempe equo ligneo per vias coeruleas
" Eſtis vecti."

La mémoire d'Erechteus, et ſa gloire, ſe ſont conſervées juſques à nos jours. Nous admirons et contemplons avec étonement les beaux reſtes du magnifique temple [*a*] érigé à ſon honeur à Athènes; monument qui faiſoit autrefois, et qui fait encore aujourd'hui un des plus ſuperbes ornemens de cette ville.

Il y a encore un troiſiéme coloniſte, qui eſt Petes. Diodore de Sicile [*b*] nous aprend qu'il étoit Egiptien, Pére de *Meneſtheus*, onziéme roi d'Athènes, qui perdit la vie au ſiége de Troïe.

Nous ſavons fort peu de choſe de ce Pétes; et je ne m'arrêterai qu'à ſon nom, qui me paroit compoſé de *Pet* [*c*], qui ſignifie *Prêtre*, et *es*, *is*, *Iſis*. Pétes au lieu de Petiſis, " ſacerdos Iſidis." Nous connoiſſons un Petiſis Egiptien, dont Arrien fait mention dans l'expédition d'Aléxandre le Grand; Jamblique [*d*] nous a auſſi conſervé la mémoire d'un Bytis miſte Egiptien. J'explique de même les noms propres Petoſiris [*e*], prêtre d'Oſiris; Peteſuchus [*f*], prêtre du Crocodile; Petencit, prêtre de Minerve; et Petephre,

[*z*] Rud. Act. I. ſc. 5. l. 10.

[*a*] On en voit les plans dans les deſſeins d'antiq. d'Athènes publiées en Angleterre par Richard Dalton.

[*b*] Liv. I. pag. 33.

[*c*] Les réduplications dans les mots Egiptiens ſont ſouvent omiſes. On peut fort bien dire Petes pour Petiſis.

[*d*] Lib. III. chap. v. ver. 109. ed. de Gronovius. Βίτυς προφήτης.

[*e*] V. Jamb. de Myſter. pag. 161. ed. d'Oxford, par Th. Gale.

[*f*] Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 13.

prêtre du Soleil. Le fils de ce Petes eſt Maneſtheus; ce nom eſt encore Egiptien, et le même que celui du fameux Manethos.

Ce ſont là les chefs des Athéniens qui vinrent d'Egipte. Diodore de Sicile qui en fait l'enumeration omet Cecrops, et apelle Petes Διφυὴς; mais Palmerius, Marſham, et Weſſelingius [*g*], ont déja remarqué, que le texte de cet'auteur eſt corrompu, et que ce pronom convient à Cecrops, qui a été oublié par les copiſtes.

III. Je paſſe à la derniére preuve de cette colonie, fondée ſur le raport de Platon [*h*], qui nous aprend que la principale déeſſe de Saïs étoit Neitha, que les Grecs lui donnoient le nom d' Αθλωᾶ, et les Latins celui de Minerve. Cecrops et ces coloniſtes portérent de Saïs le culte de cette divinité à Athènes [*i*]. On voïoit, à ce que nous dit Pauſanias [*k*], un temple érigé en Gréce à l'honeur de la Minerve de Saïs. Cette déeſſe eſt fort ancienne en Egipte: ou l'adoroit déja du tems du patriarche Joſeph. Je le prouve par le nom de ſa femme Aſenet [*l*], qui ſuivant la conjecture de Mr. Jablonſki ſignifie "cultrix Minervae." Le nom de cette divinité étoit Neit, Nit, Net, Neitha [*m*]; de là dérivent les noms propres Egiptiens, Nitetis [*n*], Pſammeniti et Paténeit [*o*]. Il eſt difficile de doner un etymologie probable de ce mot; pluſieurs ſavans l'ont tenté, et celle de Mr. Renaudot [*p*] confirmée, en dernier lieu, par un ſavant anonyme me paroit la

[*g*] Coment. ſur Dv de Sicile, Tom. I 34.

[*b*] Tom. II. pag. 21. Ὁ, (in Saï) τ^ς Πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγός ἐσιν, Αἰγυπλιςὶ μὲν τὄνομα Νηὶθ, Ἕλλησιν δὲ ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγ@ Ἀθηνᾶ.

[*i*] Cicero, Nat. Deor. L. III. "Minerva ſecunda orta Nilo, quam Aegipti "Saïtae colunt."

[*k*] Liv. ii. pag. 36. ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Σαΐτιδ@.

[*l*] Gen. xli. ver. 45 en Hebreu, אסנת *aſenath*, et dans la verſ. des LXX. Ἀσενὲθ.

[*m*] Heſych. Νήϊθα, Ἀθηνᾶ παρ Αἰγυπλίοις.

[*n*] La Croſe Epiſt. Tom. III. pag. 155.

[*o*] Tabl. Panth. Tom. I. pag. 76.

[*p*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſc. Tom. II. pag. 339. edit. d'Amſt.

plus

plus probable. Il fait dériver ce mot de *Nauti, Deus, ens ſummum* [*q*]. Je n'entre point dans la diſcuſſion du mot Ἀθηνᾶ, me contentant de remarquer, qu'un auteur moderne croit y voir les veſtiges du mot Neitha.

Que la Minerve d'Athènes ſoit dans ſon origine la même que celle des Egiptiens, c'eſt ce qui ne peut être nié, après les témoignages que je viens de raporter; mais il ne faut point croire, que tout ce que les Grecs ont atribué à leur Minerve ſoit venu d'Egipte.

Il y a, par exemple, une grande diſpute entre M. Jablonſki [*r*] et l'Abbé Pluche [*s*] ſur la queſtion ſi l'olivier parmi les Egiptiens étoit conſacré à Minerve, et ſi ceuxci atribuoient à cette déeſſe l'invention de l'huile d'olives, come ont fait les Athéniens. Ce dernier auteur poſe ce fait pour certain, quoique tous les paſſages des anciens auteurs [*t*], qui méritent toujours nos égards et nos attentions, concurrent à nous aprendre qu'il n'y avoit point d'oliviers dans la baſſe Egipte [*u*], et que cet arbre étoit conſacré en Egipte, non à Minerve, mais à Mercure.

La grande preuve de Mr. l'Abbé Pluche et de ſes partiſans eſt le nom de Saïs [*w*], qui en Hebreu et en Egiptien ſignifie *olivier*. Je paſſe ſous ſilence quelques autres etymologies probables, que

[*q*] Naturae et Script. Concordia, pag. 240. On croit que l'auteur de ce ſcavant traité eſt Mr. Wachter.

[*r*] Pantheon, Tom. I.

[*s*] Hiſt. du Ciel, I. p. 184.

[*t*] Strabon, liv. xvii.

[*u*] Diod. Sic. I. p. 20. Ed. Rhod. τ̀ ἐλαίας τὸ φυτὸν Ἑρμῆν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶν ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες φασίν.

[*w*] En Hebreu סאת *Sait*; en Egiptien ϫωιτ Verſ. Coſte Math. xxvi. 30. et Scala Kircheri, pag. 178.

La prononciation de la lettre ϫ *Giangia* en langue Coſte eſt difficile, et je crois qu'on ne feroit pas mal de la comparer avec le *ice*, qui ſe trouve dans l'alphabet Arménien parfaitment ſous la même forme, dont la prononciation eſt par un François *dg* ante *e*, aux Anglois *j* conſone, aux Allemands *iſch*. ϫωιτ, doit donc être prononcé *Iſchoit*.

j'aurois

j'aurois du mot de Saïs, et j'aime mieux faire une petite digreſſion pour refuter cet argument, qui, ſuivant les auteurs, ſerve d'un côté, à établir que l'olivier étoit conſacré à Minerve, et enſuite à prouver cette affinité des langues Hebraïque et Egiptienne, qui quoique entiérement imaginaire, ne laiſſe pas d'être crüe par bien des ſavans.

Je détruirai ces deux conſéquences par le raiſonement ſuivant, fondé ſur ce, que nous ſavons par le raport des anciens, que les Egiptiens ont eu leur huile d'olives de la terre d'Iſrael [*x*]. Les Juifs trafiquoient avec cette marchandiſe en Egipte; ils avoient peut être leur entrepot d'huile à Saïs; cette marchandiſe étrangére a conſervé ſon nom en Egipte; tout come les fruits et les drogues qui nous viennent de païs étrangers gardent les noms qu'ils poſſédoient dans leur païs natal. Ainſi l'huile eſt appellée *Saït*, non ſeulement dans tous les dialectes qui ont du raport avec l'Hebreu, mais auſſi dans les langues des Egiptiens et des Arméniens [*y*]; dont châcune ditère entiérement de toutes les langues conües. Les Egiptiens s'étant enſuite établis à Athènes plantérent des oliviers, qui y réuſſirent; ils les dédiérent à Minerve, non point pour ſuivre en cela les coutumes Egiptiens, mais ſimplement ſuivant les uſages des anciens, de conſacrer ce qu'il y a de plus célèbre dans un païs à ſa divinité principale et protectrice.

Je ne puis paſſer ſous ſilence une petite obſervation ſur le mot ϫωιτ, qui comme je viens de le prouver ſignifie l'olivier. Ce même mot ſe trouve au pluriel dans le Dictionaire Cofte et Arabe du P. Kircher [*z*], où il eſt traduit par "fornicatores, adulteri." J'ai découvert l'origine d'une traduction ſi fautive. Kircher a lû dans l'Arabe, *Alzanion*; où il auroit falu lire *Alzeitunon*. Cette correction ne dépend que du changement de points, la figure des lettres reſte entiérement la même. Voilà qui prouve le peu d'at-

[*x*] Kimchius in Hoſeae, ch. xii. 1.

[*y*] En Armenien *Eſeth*.

[*z*] Pag. 440. ΗΙ-ϫωιτ الزنبون lifez الزيتون.

tention.

tention qu'a eu Kircher en publiant ſon livre, et qui fait voir, en même tems, la néceſſité de la connoiſſance de la langue Arabe pour ſe ſerver utilement de cette ouvrage. Mais venons à notre ſujet.

Une autre affinité qu'on ſuppoſe entre la Minerve des Egiptiens et celle des Grecs, c'eſt qu'on dit que la Minerve des Egiptiens étoit vierge, come celle des Grecs. On le prouve par le témoignage de Plutarque, qui cite une inſcription de Saïs, dans laquelle Minerve ſe vante que jamais perſone n'a relevé ſon voile. Le grand Moſheim, et le ſavant Jablonſki, ne veulent point admettre cette inſcription; ils la regardent come forgée d'après la théologie Grècque. Je ne me ſervirai donc de cette preuve, qui ſoufre quelques difficultés; auſſi n'en ai je pas beſoin, aïant des conformités ſûres et certaines, qui prouvent que la Neitha de Saïs eſt la même que la Minerve des Grecs [*a*].

Minerve, déeſſe guerriére des Grecs, étoit honorée ſous cette même qualité en Egipte: je ne prétens point prouver ce que j'avance par les medailles de Saïs, où l'on voit Minerve armée d'un caſque et d'un lance; les medailles de l'Egipte frappées ſous les Empereurs Romains, ne ſont point les véritables répréſentations des dieux Egiptiens [*b*]; mais je le prouve par ce que Procle [*c*] nous dit, que la Minerve des Egiptiens et des Grecs ont l'une et l'autre les deux qualités d'être guerriéres et philoſophes à la fois. Je le prouve auſſi par ce que nous ſavons, ſuivant le témoignage d'Horapollo [*d*], que l'eſcarbot étoit l'emblême de cette déeſſe. Or l'eſcarbot, à ce que nous aprennent Plutarque [*e*] et Elien [*f*], étoit le ſimbole des guerriers, et ſervoit ordinairement de cachet aux ſoldats Egiptiens.

[*a*] Coment. ſur le Siſtème de Cudwort, 398.
[*b*] Vaillant Aeg. numiſm. pag. 214.
[*c*] Coment. ſur le Timé, pag. 30.
[*d*] Liv. i. chap. 20. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ κάνθαρον.
[*e*] De Iſ. et Oſ. 355.
[*f*] Hiſt. An. X. 15.

Dans

DANS le catalogue d'*Eratoſtenes* [*e*], conſervé par *Manethon*, nous voions une reine d'Egipte nommée Νίτωκρις. Ce mot ſignifie Ἀθηνᾶ Νικηφόρος. C'eſt l'explication que ces anciens lui donne, et qui trouve ſa confirmation dans la langue Cofte. Qu'on compare à préſent avec ce titre les médailles Athèniens de Milord Comte de Winchelſea, où on lit les mots, ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, "Minervae victricis [*f*]."

MAIS ſuivant le paſſage de Procle que je viens de citer, Minerve n'étoit pas ſeulement une déeſſe guerriére, c'étoit auſſi une philoſophe. Elle ètoit la déeſſe de la ſageſſe en Egipte auſſi bien qu'en Grèce; ſoit qu'on veulle dire, qu'elle eſt l'eſprit qui gouverne l'univers, ſoit ſimplement parce qu'on ſait, que la Minerve d'Egipte étoit déeſſe des ſciences et des arts. Un des arts les plus utiles eſt celui de filer et de faire la toile; c'eſt aux Egiptiens que nous en ſommes redevables; et c'eſt à leur Minerve que ce peuple, comme les Grecs, atribuoit cette belle invention.

PERSONE n'ignore les beaux habits que faiſoient les anciens Egiptiens de leur Byſſus [*g*], dont s'habilloient non ſeulement leurs prêtres idolatres, mais qui ſervoient auſſi à orner ceux du vrai Dieu, dont les habits étoient de Scheſch Egiptien; car ce mot, ſi vous ajoutés l'article Bi, eſt entiérement le même que celui de Biſſus.

LA coutume de porter ces habits de lin, coutume originaire d'Egipte, s'eſt conſervée, ſuivant Thucidide, juſques au tems de la premiére guerre du Péloponèſe.

EUSTATHE, dans ſes commentaires ſur l'Iliade d'Homère [*h*], nous aprend, qu'une femme Egiptienne fit la premiére [*i*], des ouvrages de tiſſeranderie, et qu'elle travailla aſſiſe à ſon métier; il ajoute

[*e*] Vignole, Chron. Tom. II. pag. 755.
[*f*] Haim Teſoro Brit. Tom. II. pag. 78.
[*g*] Maimonides in Hilch Kele Hami. ch. viii. "ubicunque in lege occurrit ש *ſcheſch* aut *bad*, intelligitur Linum et quidem Byſſus.
[*h*] II A. pag. 31. edition de Rome.
[*i*] Thucyd. l. i.

que c'eſt ainſi que les Egiptiens repréſentent leur Minerve. Nous le voions en éffet dans la table Iſiaque [*k*]. C'étoit auſſi la même choſe en Grêce, où, ſuivant Strabon [*l*], les ſtatües de cette déeſſe étoient toutes aſſiſes. On en voïoit de pareilles à Chios, dans la Phocide, et à Marſeille, et on en voit encore aujourd'hui de ſemblables en Italie [*m*]. C'étoit là le plus grand degré de perfection. Il paroit que les tiſſerans poſtérieurs avoient oublié cette maniére de travailler aſſis; puis que dans les monumens anciens qui nous repréſentent des tiſſerans, comme ſont le Virgile du Vatican, et les images peintes d'un Comentaire de Job de la bibliothèque du Roi, nous voions toujours le tiſſeran debout, tenant dans ſa main, non une navette, mais ſeulement un petit bâton, qui peut être a donné l'origine à ce bâton qu'on voit ſouvent dans les mains de Minerve, et que les antiquaires prennent ordinairement pour un bâton de commandement.

Monsieur l'Abbé Fontenu [*n*], dans une piéce de goût, publiée dans les Mémoires de Litterature de Paris, me fournit une nouvelle preuve de l'affinité de la Minerve des Egiptiens avec celle des Grecs; en ce que les Athéniens faiſoient voir à la fête des grands Panathenées [*o*], un vaiſſeau, ſur lequel étoit l'habit miſtérieux de la déeſſe. Seroit ce pour marquer la navette des tiſſerans? Cette opinion ſeroit probable à cauſe du voile de Minerve, qui étoit poſé ſur ce vaiſſeau; mais il eſt beaucoup plus vraiſemblable, que c'étoit ou pour marquer que le culte de Minerve étoit étranger à Athènes, venu au de là de la mer; ou plûtôt à l'imitation de ce fameux navire d'Iſis, ſi célèbre en Egipte; car l'Iſis Egiptienne eſt, au rapport de Plutarque [*p*], la même que la leur; et la Minerve

[*k*] Littera Z. edition de Friſius.
[*l*] Liv. xvii.
[*m*] Gallerie Juſtinienne.
[*n*] Tom. VII. ſur l'Iſis adorée chés les Suèves.
[*o*] Meurſius Panathenea, dans le Treſor de Gronovius, Tom. II. p. 97.
[*p*] De Iſide, pag. 354. τὸ δὲ ἐν Σάει τῆ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν ἔδος.

des

des Grecs eſt auſſi Iſis, au raport d'Ulpien ; le vaiſſeau d'Iſis appartient à cette déeſſe, parce qu'elle eſt la lune [q] ; car on ſait, que les Egiptiens repréſentoient les aſtres dans des navires.

Dans ces mêmes fêtes des grands Panathées je trouve encore d'autres raports avec les pompes Iſiaques des Egiptiens. Les filles, qui portoient de l'eau dans des cruches [r], appellées ὑδριαφόροι, étoient en imitation de ces Egiptiennes, qui, dans les fêtes d'Iſis, portoient dans des vaſes l'eau du Nil, le cher epoux de cette déeſſe.

Les Egiptiens prétendoient, ſuivant Diodore de Sicile [s], qu'Iſis avoit inventé pluſieurs remèdes ſouverains, et qu'elle avoit une parfaite connoiſſance de la medicine [t] ; ils ajoutoient même depuis, qu'elle jouiſſoit de l'immortalité [u] ; elle prenoit plaiſir à paroître, pendant le ſomeil, aux hommes, qui imploroient ſon ſecours dans leurs maladies. Voila donc encore une nouvelle preuve, qui confirme que la Minerve des Grecs eſt la même qu'Iſis [w], ou Naitha des Egiptiens. Minerve avoit, en qualité de déeſſe de la médecine, des temples en Grèce [x] ; elle en avoit de même à Rome [y], par le même endroit ; et c'eſt pour cette raiſon, que dans les monumens [z] des anciens, nous la voions ſouvent accompagnée des ſerpens. Je prévois qu'on me demandera, ſi les diſputes de Minerve avec Neptune ſont originaires d'Egipte, ou ſi c'eſt une invention Grècque? Ou je me trompe fort, ou ces diſputes ne ſont

[q] Ulpien ſur Démoſthène contra Midiam.
[r] Meurſius Panath. pag. 102.
[s] Tom. I. liv. i. pag. 29.
[t] Gruter Theſ. pag. 83. 15. Minerve eſt nommée SALVTARIS. Les Grecs l'appellent Ὑγίεια.
[u] Voiez le Coment. de Broekhouſe ſur Tibule, l. iii. pag. 27.
[w] Pauſanias.
[x] Montfauc. Diar. Ital. pag. 121.
[y] Rufus et Victor in Reg. Eſquilina.
[z] La Chauſſe, Pierres gravées.

que des reſtes des traditions Egiptiennes, touchant la guerre d'Iſis et Oſiris ſon epoux, avec Typhon, qui dans leur ſiſtème étoit principalement la mer: ce que les témoignages de Plutarque mettent hors de doute [*a*]. C'eſt de là, que ce peuple avoit en horreur les mariniers, le poiſſon, le ſel de la mer, qu'ils appelloient *Ecume de Typhon.* C'eſt auſſi par la même raiſon que ce géant étoit crû de couleur rouſſe, qui eſt celle de la mer voiſine du païs.

On m'objectera, peut être, que j'ai tort de confondre le dieu Neptune avec un monſtre tel que Typhon; mais Hérodote [*b*] répondra pour moi, en diſant, que les Egiptiens n'ont point connu le dieu Neptune, c. à d. que la mer n'étoit pas une divinité adorée en Egipte; mais plûtôt qu'elle y étoit le monſtre le plus déteſté de la nature. Virgile ſera garant de ce que j'avance, quand, dans ſon Ciris [*c*], il attribüe à Minerve la victoire ſur Typhon.

" Ergo Palladiae texuntur in ordine pugnae:
" Magna giganteis ornantur pepla tropaeis:
" Horrida ſanguineo pinguntur proelia cocco:
" Additur aurata dejectus cuſpide Typho."

Il y a eu des ſavans [*d*] qui ont avancé que le nom de Neptune vient de Neptin, divinité maritime des Egiptiens, et femme de *Typhon.* Sans diſcuter la probabilité de cette etymologie, j'ajouterai ſeulement, que ſuivant ma conjecture, cette même victoire que je viens de décrire, eſt repréſentée ſur un monument Etruſque, publié par Monſ. le Comte de Caylus [*e*], avec cette ſeule différence, que la déeſſe pourſuit, non Neptune ou Typhon, mais Hermanubis fils illégitime de Neptin.

Je finirai cette diſſertation par l'ingenieuſe conjecture d'Olearius [*f*], qui faiſant fond ſur cette colonie de Saites à Athènes,

[*a*] Plutarque de Iſ. et Oſ. pag. 363.
[*b*] Livre ii. chap. 50.
[*c*] V. 29.
[*d*] Cudworth's True Intellectual Syſtem, pag. 310.
[*e*] Rec. d'Ant. Tom. II. Pl. xx. N° 3.
[*f*] Godfrid. Olearii Diſſ. de geſtis Pauli ap. Athen. parag. 19.

tâche

tâche de répandre une nouvelle lumiére ſur le dieu inconnu, dont il eſt fait mention aux Actes des Apôtres [*g*]. Il croit que ce dieu eſt la Neitha des Egiptiens, divinité qui repréſentoit l'entendement inviſible et éternel. Cet auteur tire ſa grande preuve des inſcriptions de Sais, qui ſe trouvent dans Plutarque et Procle [*h*]: dans celle de ce dernier auteur la déeſſe parle ainſi: τὰ ὄν]α, χ᾽ ἐσόμενα, χ᾽ τὰ γεγονότα, ἐγώ εἰμι; τὸν ἐμὸν χι]ῶνα οὐδεὶς ἀπεκάλυψεν; "Je "ſuis ce qui eſt, ce qui ſera, et ce qui a été; perſone n'a relevé "mon habit." Voilà, dit Olearius, le dieu inconu; et on doit encore remarquer que Jeſus Chriſt, au quel St. Paul dit que ce nom convient, eſt appellé dans les Saintes ecritures, ὁ ὢν, ὁ ἦν, χ᾽ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "celui qui eſt, qui a été, et qui ſera;" et que c'eſt dans ce mots qu'eſt contenu, τὸ μυ]ήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπό τῶν αἰώνων, "le miſtère couvert d'un voile épais que perſonne n'a relevé."

La Neitha des Egiptiens eſt donc la même que la Minerve des Grecs. Les coloniſtes de Sais portérent ſon culte à Athènes; on y voit encore bien des reſtes de ſon origine Egiptienne; mais on s'apperçoit auſſi des changemens et des additions que les Grecs ont fait, ſoit par ſuperſtition, ou plûtôt par ambition, et par orgueil, pour cacher autant qu'il étoit poſſible leur véritable origine, qui loin de leur fair tort, leur auroit fait honeur, s'ils n'euſſent mieux aimés ſe dire nés du ſein de la terre, que de reconnoitre ce qu'ils devoient aux Egiptiens leurs ancêtres, dont ils ont imité et ſurpaſſé ſi glorieuſement les traces, dans l'exerciſe des arts et la culture des ſciences.

[*g*] Chap. xvii. ver. 23

[*h*] Coment. ſur le Timé, pag. 30.

L. Ogmius Luciani *ex Celticiſmo illuſtratus*; *auctore* Frid. Samuel Schmidt, Helvet. Bernaſ.

Read May 26, 1762.

QUI veritatis indagandae ſtudio ea quae de Mercurio vetuſtas prodidit, diligentius animo volvit, is non modo Gallorum deum, verum etiam, niſi me fallit animus, primum hujus gentis ducem reperiet; quem Galli ut ſuum heroem, ſuum ducem, quinimo ſuum Herculem, caeteris gentibus oppoſuerunt, utpote non minus ſtrenuum et facundum. Etenim gentium conductores [*a*], quae late per terras et maria immenſa diſperſae, in heroum, imo deorum immortalium [*b*] numero veteribus fuiſſe poſitos, antiqua ſuadent hiſtoriarum monumenta. De Gallis quis dubitet, reliquarum imitatos conſuetudinem, primum ſuum ducem, quiſquis ille demum fuerit, eo honoris dignitatiſque evexiſſe, ut rel quis gentium conductoribus aemulum facerent. Hunc eſſe Herculem illum Ogmium, de quo, praeter Lucianum, nemo veterum aliquid memoriae prodidit, nova via ſtabilire decrevi; et circa hunc proavorum noſtrorum deum, ea, que vel lectione veterum, vel propria meditatione aſſecutus ſum, paucis expediam.

QUAERO primo quis ſit Hercules, a Gallis Ogmius dictus? Porro quare illum attributis illis condecoraverint, quae refert Lucianus?

DEXTRO igitur, ut aiunt, Hercule, et bene fortunante Mercurio, occaſionem quaeſtionis praemittam, et quid ex Luciano per legitimam conſequentiam aſtrui poſſit breviter dicam; Gallos nimirum ſuum habuiſſe eloquentiae deum, non Hermetem Grecorum, quoad formam aut aetatem; non Herculem Graecum, ratione corporis ſtaturae,

[*a*] Spanheim de Uſu et Praeſt. Num. Diſſ. vi. pag. 556.

[*b*] Idem, pag. 331. Juliani Ceſares.

ſtaturae, muſculorum, et nervorum, ſed quoad habitum externum, et fortitudinem ingenii, quo reſpectu Hercules audiat; eum autem nomine Celtico appellari, cui vox *Ogmius* in Graeco ſermone reſpondeat, quod *ſulcatorem* ſive *limitatorem* ſignificat; vocem illam Celticam Mercurium eſſe, quae eundem ſenſum fundat, et cui prae caeteris gentium diis, tum ſulci et viae, tum eloquentia fuerit commendata; caetera quoque ejus nomina Limitatorem deſignare, Hermetem, Theutum, Theutathem, Terminum, et Caduciferum. Difficile proinde non eſſe Eloquentiam Ogmio tribuere, quo emblemate in Luciani ſtatua occurrit; eodem emblemate populum dicto ejus obedientem, et ultro ſequentem repraeſentari; quae ſi cum epithetis Ἡγεμονίε, Ἐνοδίε, Νομίε, viaci, et limitatoris, conjungantur, Celtarum ducem, legiſlatorem, regionis diſtributorem, ſatis arguant.

LUCIANUS Samoſatenſis quaeſtioni locum dedit in opuſculo ſuo[c], cui titulum dedit Hercules: ibi rationem reddit, cur jam natu grandior in eloquentiae ſtudio verſetur, quod, pro vulgari opinione, hominum adoleſcentium proprium ſit; purgat autem ſe ipſum exemplo Gallorum, qui deum eloquentiae ſub imagine hominis decrepiti fingunt. Etenim Lucianus, poſtquam rei ſtatuariae valedixit, liberalibus e contra operam navaſſet artibus, in Galliam rhetoricae docendae gratia ſe contulit, ubi ſtatuam Eloquentiae dicatam vidit, et, prout erat vir acutiſſimi ingenii, figuram illam ſollicite perſcrutatus, doctorem nactus eſt e Druidum genere, philoſophum Gallicum, utraque et Graeca et barbara lingua doctrinaque optime imbutum.

STATUA vero talis fuit ut vir cute rugoſa, raro canoque capillitio, habitu Herculis indutus, exuviis leonis, pharetra, clavoque armatus, multitudinem hominum poſt ſe traheret, ſponte ſequentem, licet tenuibus modo catenulis a lingua ejus proficiſcentibus aures eorum eſſent revinctae. Rarum et inſolitum videbatur Luci-

[c] Novae Edit. Tom. III. pag. 12. ſeq.

ano

ano eloquentiam tali videre adumbratam imagine; edoctus autem a philoſopho Gallo, gentem ſuam eloquentiam non Hermeti juveni, ut ſolent Graeci, tribuere, ſed Herculi illam aſſimilare, quoniam is fortior ſit, acquievit Lucianus; et jam aetate profectus, et ſtatuae et doctrinae memor Druidae, defendit ſe adverſus irriſores ſuos, quod aetate ingraveſcente adhuc diſcendi ſtudio operam navet. Scrupulus latet in prima periodo, qua rite deducta patebit veritas. Sic habet: *τὸν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ Ὄγμιον ὀνομάζεσι φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ.* "Herculem Galli propria ſua lingua Ogmium vocant;" quod ſic intelligo: Eloquentiae deus, cujus ſtatuam Herculis habitu condecoratam deſcribere animus eſt, a Celtis appellatur nomine linguae ſuae proprio, quod philoſophus Gallus Graece per Ὄγμιος reddidit; nec inſolitum eſt ita loquentes audire Graecos; ſit exemplo locus Aeliani [*d*], ubi ſic habet: *Ὄχον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ επιχωρίῳ φωνῇ ὄνον ἐκάλων*; "Ochum regem Aegyptii propria ſua lingua "vocabant, voce Aegyptia [*e*] quae reſpondet vocabulo Graeco "ὄνος;" *aſinus* enim Aegyptiis non ὄνος ſed Εω *eo*, et Ιω *io*, vocatur. Hanc veroeſſe genuinam loci, quem explicandum ſumſimus, interpretationem, ex eo patet, quod ex tota oratione Luciani, ut et philoſophi interpretantis, nil aliud legitime concludi poſſit, quam de deo eloquentiae ſermonem eſſe, non de Hercule Grecorum, neque de illorum Hermete, ſed de Gallorum numine Ὀγμίῳ. Quid enim Herculi Graeco diſſimilius, quam rari canique capilli, rugoſa cutis, ut Lucianus ipſe fateri cogatur, illum, qui ſtatuam ſpectaret, quidvis potius quam Herculem ex imagine conjecturum. Philoſophi quoque Galli verba ſatis oſtendunt, non eſſe Herculem, ſed diverſum Gallorum numen, quod Herculi, ob fortitudinem ſolam, aſſimilent; utitur enim voce *εἰκάζομεν* [*f*]. Oratio-

[*d*] Var. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 8.

[*e*] Vide Verſ. Copt. Geneſ. xx. 3. 5. Exod. xxiii. 12. et cum art. maſc. πι occurrit in Scala Kirch. 166. πιεω quod vertit الحمار.

[*f*] Τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς οἱ Κέλτοι, οὐχ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, Ἑρμῆν οἰόμεθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰκάζομεν.

nem,

nem, inquit, non, ut vos Graeci, Hermeti tribuimus, ſed Herculi eam aſſimilamus, quod fortior ſit; Ogmius ergo non eſt Hermes[g] Graecorum, quoad ejus juventutem, figuram, reliquumque ornatum, nec Hercules Graecus, quoad corporis temperamentum, ſed aſſimilatur illi per externa Herculis decoramenta, quae fortitudinis ſunt emblemata, ut eloquentiae vis appareat. Galli [h] autem, haud diffiteor, nonniſi poſt diverſas in Graeciam migrationes et reditus, artem pingendi, ſtatuariam, et litteras, edidicerunt; ac Luciani tempore leges, ritus, numina quoque Romanorum cum lingua cognoverunt; ſed avitae tenaces religionis gentis ſuae deos ad Graecorum Romanorumque ſtatuas conformarunt, quorum artifices, multis inde a ſeculis, in efformando deorum ornatu Gallos, bello potius, quam pacis artibus gloriam quaerentes, multum ſuperaverunt.

CUM igitur Ogmius noſter nec Hermes Graecorum, nec eorum ſit Hercules, quorum ille juvenis petaſatus, alatis pedibus et caduceo inſignis; hic autem lacertoſus ſimul et robuſtus; quaeritur quis ergo ſit Ogmius? Reſpondeo, deus eſt Gallorum, quem ipſi ſibi proprium vindicant, Mercurius; is enim non Romanorum vel Graecorum, ſed Celtarum deus eſt; ejuſque cultus a Celtis ad varias dimanavit gentes; nimirum cum tot tamque graves habeamus veterum auctoritates, Graecorum philoſophiam et fabulas de diis a barbaris duxiſſe originem, et nominatim a Celticis populis, qualis eſt auctoritas Diogenis Laertii [i], Phurnuti [k], aliorumque. Ad haec graviſſimus auctor C. Tacitus [l], Mercurium Ger-

[g] Luciani Dialogus Panis et Merc.

[h] De Maſſilia cultiſſimo Galliae oppido, Lucanus III. 412.

" ——— Simulacraque miſta deorum
" Arte carent, caeſiſque exſtant informia truncis."

Et Div. Chryſoſt. Serm. xii.

[i] Diog. Laert. in Proemio.

[k] Phurnutus in opuſc. myth. pag. 170.

[l] " Deum maxime Mercurium colunt." Mor. Germ. cap. ix.

manorum, Caeſar [*m*], Gallorum Deum praecipue fuiſſe aſſerat; infinita quoque ejus monumenta in Celtica reperiantur regione; denique ejus cognomenta, ut mox patebit, originis ſint Celticae; nemo non ſub Ogmii nomine Mercurium agnoſcat, praeſertim cum demonſtravero Ὄσμιον apud Graecos, reſpectu etymi, idem ſignificare ac apud Celtas Mercurius, quod jam mei eſt inſtituti.

ΩΓΜΙΟΣ vox Graeca eſt, quod non ſolum ex terminatione in ιος, ſed ex ipſa voce patet. Ὄγμιος enim ab ὄγμος [*n*] derivatur; quod, apud auctores Graecos et veteres lexicographos, Heſychium, Suidam, Damaſcenum [*o*], *ſulcum* et inde *limitem* denotat, ἡ κατὰ τὸν ἄροτρον τομή. Proinde Ogmius [*p*] non aliter, quam deus ſulcorum, limitum, et viarum, reddi poteſt; hinc eſt forſitan, quod etiam Ceres, frugum agrorumque dea, Ἔπογμιος dicitur; quod unicuique agrum et annonam cuſtodiat; Ogmios, Heſychio teſte, congruit cum voce αὔλαξ [*q*], quae ſimul ſulcum et limitem notat [*r*]; ideo vicinus, qui eodem cum alio utitur limite, ὁμαῦλαξ [*s*], parvi agelli poſſeſſor ὀλιγαῦλαξ [*t*], et ſulcus vel limes aquaticus, qui agrum terminat, ὑδραῦλαξ [*u*] dicitur; nec mirum, cum vix alia ratione commodius poſſint notari limites quam ſulco; qua voce Latini promiſcue utuntur; "pro ſulco, id eſt, limite, inquit Arnobius, forum litibus terrent;" ſulco limitabant domos; Virgilius, Aeneid. l. i. 429.

"Pars aptare locum tecto, et concludere ſulco."

Limitabant urbes; Virgilius: Æn. vii. 157.

[*m*] Caeſar B. G. vi. 16. "Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, ejus ſunt plu-
"rima ſimulacra.—Hunc viarum et itinerum ducem."

[*n*] Ὄγμος pro *via* eſt apud Nicandrum, in Theriaca.

[*o*] Damaſcenus Lexicog. ineditus, cujus MS. ſervat. in Bib. Pub. Bernenſi.

[*p*] Theocritus, Idyl. lib. x. ver. 2. οὐδὲ τὺ ὄλμον ἄγειν ὀρθὸν δύνα, neque ſulcum
"ducere rectum potes."

[*q*] Ὄγμος τοὺς αὔλακας διὰ τὸ ὄλμους εἶναι.

[*r*] Euſtathius.

[*s*] Apollon.

[*t*] Suidas.

[*u*] Budaeus.

"——— Ipſe

" ——— Ipſe humili deſignat moenia foſſa."

Ideo porta a portando aratro, ne fiat ſulcus, ubi porta erat. Limitabant agros: Virgilius, Georg. i. 125.

" Ante Jovem nulli ſubigebant arva coloni;
" Nec ſignare quidem, aut partiri limite campos
" Fas erat."

SI coloniae in novas ſedes erant deductae, nummus coloniae aratorem cum duobus bobus junctis habet, quod agri erant diſtincti.

IN ſulcis defixi erant lapides, ſive etiam ſtipites, qui magna colebantur ceremonia. Propertius, lib. i. eleg. 4.

" Nullas illa ſuis contemnet fletibus aras,
" Et quicunque ſacer, qualis ubique, lapis."

Lapis iſte Index vocabatur:

" ——— perjuraque pectora vertit
" In durum ſilicem, qui nunc quoque dicitur Index."

INDICE opus non erat, ſi ſulcus aratro ductus ſatis erat profundus; acervos tantum lapidum ex agro in ſulcum conjiciebant, qui cum porca limitem ſatis diſtinguebant. Hos monticulos terrae Graeci γρυμὸς, Latini Grumos, forte ab Hebraeo *geramim* גרמים, *faſtigium*, vocant; unde vox Gallica Grumele, monticulatum, orta eſt. Celtae autem et foſſam et grumum *fure* vel *furche* nominabant; Angli *furrow*; Latini *porcam*; quae deducenda videntur ab Hebreo פָּרֶק *paeraek*, a פָּרַק *parak*, *fregit*; unde Germanicum *brachen*, *rumpere*, quod de aranda terra, non vero ſeminanda uſurpatur.

AD vocem ὄγμιος revertor, quae cum voce Celtica *og* convenire videtur, quanquam Graeca ſit; Latini *occare* dicunt, quod Celtae *egen* [*w*], id eſt, complanare ſulcos, porcas conterere; et inſtru-
ntum quo utuntur agricolae ad id peragendum, nempe *occa*,

[*w*] Pezron, Antiq. Celt.

Graecis ὀξίνα [x], Cambris *og*, a Boxhornio ad voces refertur Celticas; Britannis *og*, Germanis *ege* dicitur; hinc oritur ſuſpicio, occatorem deum ab Ogmio non multum differre. Hujus meminit Varro, et Servius in verſum 1. Virgilii Georg. I. 21.

" Diique, deaeque omnes, ſtudium quibus arva tueri."

Occator ergo, ſive ſulcorum autor, in numero agri cuſtodum ponitur, qualis eſt ὄγμιος.

NUNC ordo diſſertationis noſtrae poſtulat ut ad vocem Mercurii tranſeamus, probando, hanc eſſe vocem illam Celticam, quam philoſophus Gallicus Luciano per illam Ogmii reddidit.

MERCURIUS Celtis *Mercer* dictus eſt, omiſſa terminatione Latina in *ius*, et *u* in *e* ſemimutum mutando, ut in caeteris vocibus Celticis fieri ſolet, quae in *er* deſinunt; talis eſt Soldurius [y], miles mercede conductus, quem Celtae *ſolder* dixerunt; ſecurus, tutus, Celtis *ſicher*; ita Mercurius Celtis *Mercher* [z]. Latini plerumque *er* in *ur*, Galli hodierni in *eur* terminant. Significat autem Mercher auctorem ſulci et limitis, ſiquidem *mark* Cambris, Anglo-Saxonibus, Germanis, Gothis, ſignum, et in ſpecie limitem, denotat, quod Galli *marque*, *marche*, Hiſpani et Itali *marca*, Sarmatae veteres *march*, Perſae *marza* pronuntiant. Ita Angli *a mark* dicunt, ſignum, inſigne, notam, ſigillum, ſtigma, *a mark or limit of land*; inde verbum *marquer* Gallicum, *merken* Germanicum, *marking* Anglicum notare, et in ſpecie *marchen* [a] limitare ſignificat; hinc cuſtodes limitum Barbaro-Latinis *marchiones*, Gallis *marquis* [b], Germanis *marchgraf*, Graecis recentioribus μαρκέσιος [c] et λιμενάρχης vocantur; Franci enim, ut optime Vadianus,

[x] Wachter Gloſſar.
[y] Caeſar l. iii. B. G. " Devoti, quos illi Soldurios appellant."
[z] Boxhorn, Lexic. Ant. Brit.
[a] Rerum Alem. Tom II.
[b] Aventini Annales Boii, l. vi.
[c] Selden's Titles of Honor, pag. 420.

anus, Romanos imitati, extremis devictarum gentium finibus viros illuſtres, et rei militaris peritos, imponebant ad coercendas finitimorum incurſiones, qui deinde a marca limite, marchiones vocati ſunt. Haec cum ita ſint, quis non videt Mercurium Celticam eſſe vocem, et limitatorem denotare? quem Galli, a voce *marche*, vel *marque*, Marqueur; Germani a *mark* Merker vocare poſſent, et hi revera vocant. Quod ſi nunc ab Hiſpanis et Anglo-Saxonibus ad Gallos et Germanos, porro ad Gothos, Sarmatas, Perſas, retrogradiendo linguas Orientis, tanquam primigenias, inveſtigare liceret, Arabum مرغ et مرع *maraga* et *maracha* [*d*], et Hebraeorum מרקחה *merkata*, quorum illud oleo perfudit, hoc quoque unctionem notat, Celticae vocis originem primam exprimere poſſet; ſignum enim et limes non eſt ſignum, niſi ad id conſtitutum ſacratumque ſit; idcirco veteres non modo perſonas ad officia deſignatas, ſed res quoque vita carentes oleo perunxere, ut tanquam ſigna ab hominibus agnoſcerentur. Unxerunt ergo lapides terminales, ut ex Apuleio, Clemente Alexandrino, et aliis patet, inter quos Siculus Flaccus [*e*] terminorum unctionem ita deſcribit: "Cum terminos diſponerent, ipſos quidem lapides in ſolidam terram collocabant, proxime ea loca, quibus, foſſis factis, defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibuſque et coronis coronabant [*f*]." Terminum ideo λιπαρὸν vocabant; lapis ergo, ni fuerit unctus, ſacer non erat, ſed communis [*g*]; at ſacer erat terminalis, ideo Seneca Tragicus:

" ——— Nullus in campo ſacer
" Diviſit agros arbiter populi lapis."

NEC dubito Latinos quoque ab oblinendo lapide Limitem, quaſi Linimitem, per craſin dixiſſe; quemadmodum vox *mark* apud Celtas alio ſignificatu pinguedinem, alio limitem denotat;

[*d*] Vid. Gieuhari et Ibn. Maruph.
[*e*] De Bondis Agrorum.
[*f*] Apuleius in Apol. "Lapidem unctum in finibus."
[*g*] Clem. Alex. Str. vii. et Theophr. de Superſt. cap. xvi.

quoniam

quoniam limes non erat, niſi pinguedine fuerit delibutus. Pari ratione olim Celtae, et hodienum Germani ſignum, notam, monumentum, vocarunt *mal*, *merk-mal*, *denk-mal*, *wund-mal*, a pingendo vel unguendo lapide vel ligno; unctio vero lapidum ex antiquitate remotiſſima petenda eſt, cujus veſtigium occurrit Geneſ. xxviii. ver. 18, 19. ſcil. "Jacob erexit ſtelam, et fudit oleum de-" ſuper, et vocavit nomen loci Bethel."

Ex dictis jam liquet, vocem *mark*, in linguis antiquiſſimis, unctum aliquid denotare; inde ad gentes Europaeas dimanaſſe; veteribus Celtis unctionem et limitem, ejus derivativum *merker*, virum limitaneum ſignificaſſe; et in hunc uſque diem diverſis Europae populis adhuc ſignificare, exinde Romanos, pro genio linguae, ſuum feciſſe Mercurium. Hic in parodo licet explicare vocem Germanicam *granze*, quae terminum denotat. Miror neminem obſervaſſe a vetuſta conſuetudine coronandi terminos illam fuiſſe natam; obvium eſt apud veteres auctores terminos ſertis et coronis decoratos fuiſſe. Ideo Ovidius, Faſt. ii.

" Te duo diverſa domini de parte coronant,
" Binaque ſerta tibi, binaque liba ferunt."

Et Prudentius, contra Simmachum, lib. ii.

" ——— Et lapis illic
" Si ſtetit antiquus, quem cingere ſueverat error."

Ita Tibullus, lib. I. eleg. i.

" Nam veneror, ſeu ſtipes habet deſertus in agro,
" Seu vetus in trivio florida ſerta lapis."

RUTILIUS [*b*] terminos quoque in aqua conſtitutos coronatos fuiſſe docet. De prorae cuſtode ita inquit:

" Incertas gemina diſcriminat arbore fauces,
" Defixaſque aufert limes uterque ſudes.

[*b*] Itin. I. 459.

" Illis

" Illis proceras mos eſt adnectere lauros
" Conſpicuaſque ramis et fruticante coma."

GRANZE ergo dicuntur, quaſi Kranze, quod Celtis ſerta et coronas notabat; et Graeci κράνος *galeam*, et quodcunque caput cingebat, Latini *coronam* dixerunt, utrique *coronidem* terminum et rei extremum vocabant; unde loquendi formula [*i*], κορωνὶς τῦ βίϐ, et ἀπὸ τ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τ κορωνίδος. Plura adhuc veſtigia vocis Marcha, ſive termini, habemus. In confinio Galliae et Germaniae oppida exſtant Marcodurum, et Marcomagus; ſunt preterea Marcomanni, viri limitanei; porro determinatum ſpatium agri Germani *morgen*, a *march*, Graeci μόρϝη vel μόρϝιον appellant; eodem ſenſu quo Galli *arpend* dicunt a Celtico *arren* [*k*], Latino *arare*, et *pen* ſeu *bahn* terminus; item margo, terminus, et rei extremum [*l*], quod ſaepius de limine aquatico ſumitur; Plinius [*m*] marginem imperii dicit, qua Rhenus alluit, quod et ipſum a *marcha* limite ortum eſt.

VIDIMUS hucuſque Mercurium in lingua Celtica deum terminorum, limitum, et viarum, denotare, talem quoque a veteribus agnitum; cum vero ſuperius demonſtratum fuerit, vocem ὄϝμιον in Graeca lingua eundem ſenſum fundere, ſatis liquet, ὄϝμιον Luciani eſſe Mercurium Celticum; tamen non abs re erit ad caetera Mercurii cognomina progredi, probando etiam illa deum terminorum indigitare. Horum numero eſt cognomen *Thaut* ſive *Theut*, quod et ipſum viam et limitem in lingua Celtica ſignificat; probante Camdeno et Boxhornio de vocibus *theut*, et *thait*; quinimo *dutt* vetuſtae originis ſignum eſt, quare hodienum verbum *deuten* Germanis ſignificare audit. Graecis τεῦϝμα monumentum et ſignum ad viam eſt; viae vero plerumque limitibus interviunt Mercurio ſacrae. Utrumque ſignificatum viae et li-

[*i*] Max. Tyrius.
[*k*] Graece ἄρουρα.
[*l*] Wachter Gloſſ. v. BANNEN.
[*m*] Lib. xii. cap. 20.

mitis vox Celtica *bahn* habuit, et hodienum apud Germanos habet; Galli inde ſumſerunt vocem *bannir*, extra limites mittere.

A VERO non abludit *Theuti* dei Egyptii nomen et cultum per colonias ad Gallos perveniſſe; in lingua Coptica ϑοϒϒ notat ſtelam, Mercurialem in via conſtitutum lapidem, columnam, quales Aegyptios in Mercurii ſui honorem erexiſſe nemo ignorat. Hujus vocis *Theut* veſtigia inveni apud agricolas Helvetiorum, cum pluribus quae Celticiſmum veterem, imo ipſos redolent proavos Celtarum Aegyptios; utuntur illi hac voce ad denotandum locum agri ubi termini fuerunt collocati; ſupereſt enim in agri extremitate ſpatium, ubi ductus aratri ceſſat in verſura ejus, quod non aratur, ſed viae inſervit inter vicinos agros; termini vero in principio extremi ſulci diſponuntur; ſpatium illud vocant *an thaut*, id eſt, *ad thautum*, ad limitem, cujus denominationis rationem agricolae reddere nequeunt, quia *Thautum* ignorant.

DISTINCTIO terminorum reſpectu loci apud veteres in vulgus nota eſt. A Septentrione ad Meridem cardo, ab Oriente ad Occidentem decumana vocatur; circa quorum etymon Varro, alique veterum valde ſe torſerunt, quia linguam ignorarunt Celticam et Orientis. Cardo [*n*] contracte eſt *cherrad*, id eſt, verſura aratri. *Cher* et *cheran* eſt vox antiquiſſima, unde Latini *gyrare*, et Graeci γυρᾶν dicunt; *rad* vero Celtis eſt *rota* et *aratrum*; conferatur Chaldaeum רדה *redah*, *arare*; Galli [*o*] aratrum *charrue*, quaſi *charroue* vocant. Non aliunde Graeci ſuas χεράδας quam a Celtica voce ſumſerunt. Χεράδες autem limites et terminos ſignificant. Hinc illud Sapphicum, *μὴ κίνει χεράδας, ne dimove terminos*; quod praeceptum Chaldaei, Num. xvi. ver. 13. ita reddunt, non mutabis תקומא [*p*] *tekuma*, terminum proximi tui,

[*n*] Ita etiam in lingua Armenica occurrit vox *karz*, quae currum notat. Junius Obſerv. ad Willeram.

[*o*] Quintilian. II. 5. "Plurima Gallica valuere, ut Rheda, et Petoritum quoque."

[*p*] Dubito an conferendae voces Arab. تخم *tachuma, terminavit*; *tachmon, terminus*; et تخومة *tachumaton, limes pagi.*

quem

quem determinarunt majores tui; habes alterum limitis *techuma*, unde *decumana*. Poſſet forte huc trahi Graecorum τέκμαρ, quod Pindaro ſignum; item τέκμαρ Homero ſignum et terminum denotat.

DE cognomine *Theut* hoc unum obſervabimus, Graecis eundem ſenſum fundere; ſiquidem Suidas τευθὴν indicem et exploratorem redd.t; etenim index terminalis non modo finibus diſtinguendis inſervit, ſed numine quodam, Mercurii nempe, veteribus gaudere creditus eſt, qui fines exploret atque cuſtodiat. Hinc Ovidius terminum ita alloquitur, Faſt. ii.

" Termine, ſive Lapis, ſive es defoſſus in agro
" Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes."

A THEUTO Theutones dicuntur veteres Germanorum populi; et ſecundum terminationem Celticam Theutiſci, hodie Teutſche; Servio Theotiſci; unde patet Theuiſconem vel Tutiſconem eundem eſſe cum Theuto et Dite, communi Gallorum Germanorumque patre; de quo Caeſar [*q*] haec memoriae prodidit; Gallos ſe omnes à Dite patre prognatos praedicare; idque a Druidibus proditum dicere, quem defunctum, tanquam familiae patrem, utrique populi Germani ſub nomine Thuiſconis, Galli ſub nomine Ditis honorarunt, ſtatuaſque in lucis erexerunt. Cum Caeſare Tacitus [*r*] conferendus, cujus haec ſunt verba: " celebrant carminibus antiquis Thuiſconem deum terra editum, et " filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque;" inde liquet cur Mercurius quoque Theutates [*s*] dictus fuerit, nimirum per auctionem cognominis vocis *att*, quae patrem ſignificat; Helvetiorum ruricolae non aliter patrem, quam vocibus *att* [*t*], *atten*, et

[*q*] De B. Gall. l. vi.
[*r*] De M.r. Germ. cap. 2.
[*s*] Lucanus et Lactant. lib. i.
[*t*] Non multum abludit Aegyptium ιωτ *iot*, *pater*; vocalium permutatio Aegyptiis et Celtis frequentiſſima cum art. maſc. φιωτ *phi-ot*, in Scala Kircheri verſ. per الاب. pag. 81.

atte, ſolent appellare, quo nomine etiam ſenem quemlibet inſigniunt. Latini, teſte Feſto, reverentiae gratia cuilibet aetate profecto *atta* dicunt, unde avi pater atavus audit; conſtat proinde Theutatem idem eſſe ac patrem Theutum, aut patrem limitum.

HERMES eſt aliud Mercurii cognomentum, quo Graeci utuntur; Graecae tamen originis eſſe vix mihi perſuadere poſſum, cum potius ſit Celticae, e quorum finibus Mercurii fama ad Graecos tranſiit. Ἑρμῆς, initio Ἑρμιῶ dictus, videtur, quod ex verbo ἑρμηνεύω, ubi littera *n* ſuperſtes eſt, ſatis manifeſte apparet; ſed *her* et *men* dominum et virum terrae apud Celtas denotavit. *Ard*[*u*], *erd*, et *herd*, antiquis terra dicta fuit; terram, inquit Tacitus[*w*], Germani *herdum* nuncupant; ſoli hodienum Helvetii terram *herd* cum aſpiratione in genere pronuntiant; *man*, *men*, et *min*, vir praeſtans, et graviſſimae auctoritatis eſt. Hujus noſtrae opinionis argumenta ſat ponderoſa adducere poſſumus e ſequentibus Mercurii apud Graecos et Celtas nominibus. Quid aliud Graecorum Χθόνιος, quam terrae dominus et deus; ita veteres Mercurium appellarunt, quem Aeſchylus in numero terreſtrium deorum ponit, in Perſ. 630.

Ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοὶ,
Γῆ τε, καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων.

DICITUR quoque Παραμμὸν, ſuper arenam et pulverem conſtitutus; quin imo Κταρὸς, a κλάω *poſſideo*; poſſeſſionum terrae praeſes et auctor. Porro index Mercurialis poetis paſſim Arbiter vocatur, quae vox peregrinae, Celticae nimirum, originis eſt, ab *ar*, terra, et *bieter*, poteſtate et dominio inſtructus et judex; itaque Statius terminum nuncupat. Theb. vi. 352.

" ——— Hinc ſaxeus umbo,
" Arbiter agricolis, finem jacet inter utrumque."

[*u*] Hebr. אֶרֶץ *terra*.
[*w*] De Mor. Germ. c. 40.

Et

Et Ovidius de Mercurio, Faſt. v.

" Pacis et armorum, ſuperis imiſque deorum
" Arbiter, alato qui pede carpis iter."

OMNIA haec cognomina Mercurii ſignificationem Celticam Hermetis perfectiſſime exprimunt, et Mercurium terrae dominum, cuſtodem poſſeſſionum, et terminorum auctorem indigitant.

QUIS ergo miretur indices limitum, acervoſque lapidum, ad vias et ſulcos, Hermas et Hermulas fuiſſe dictos? De his Ulpianus Demoſthenis Scholiaſtes: " Hermae erant ſtipites aut lapides qua-
" drati, habentes ſurſum vultum Mercurii." Item Tſetzes: " Herma eſt omnis ſtatua et acervus lapidum [*x*]." Heſychio Ἑρμαῖος λόφος, Mercurialis acervus dicitur. Quod vero non ad vias modo, ſed ad terminos [*y*] conſtituendos inſervierint, teſtis eſt Pauſanias; erecti ſunt, ait, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις lapides Hermae. Et Frontinus de Coloniis: " aliis locis ager determinatur per muros, Her-
" mulas, &c." Ab illis Hermulis in ſulcis agrorum proculdubio mures Pontici Germanis Hermelin, et Hermines dicti ſunt; quoniam in ſulcis agrorum latitant, colore et immutabilitate Hermulis non abſimiles; qui, ſi vera de illis rerum naturalium ſcriptores praedicant, in extrema anguſtia ſi ad lacunoſum ſulcum ſteterint, mori quam madefieri malunt; quin et Latini, ob ſimilitudinem cum lapide terminali, Muſtelas appellant; Stelae vero, Graecis στῆλαι, ſunt lapides limitanei.

Hoc unum ad vocem Hermes vel Hermin addemus, deum Terminum a veteribus cultum, ipſum eſſe Mercurium, ejuſque denominationem ab Hermin eſſe deductum, adjecto articulo T quaſi T'Hermin, qui Celticiſſimum ſapit; et non modo ad Latinos, ſed ad Graecos quoque cum ipſa voce tranſiit, qui palos terminales, vel cancellos, ut Flaccus Siculus eos vocat, τέρμονας dicunt.

NON omni caret veri ſpecie vocem Hermes Aegyptiam eſſe, et una cum voce Theuti ad Celtas fuiſſe tranſlatam; ut alia ejus rei

[*x*] Chiliad. xii.

[*y*] Homeri Odyſſ. 11. ver. 11. et Commentarii Euſtathii.

argumenta taceam, habemus inter nomina regum Aegyptiorum, quae a diis deſumpta eſſe certiſſimum eſt, nomina propria Armais et Chermes, quae ab Hermes nonniſi aſpiratione differunt; ſi vero, quod ſupra veroſimile eſſe oſtendi, vox antiquitus fuerit Hermen, tum deducenda eſt ab ep vel ερ quod *facere*, dein *auctorem rei* ſignificat, et a ερμα, quod *ſignum terminum*que notat; Mercurius autem Aegyptiis non modo in terra eſt deus limitum, verum ſimul, juxta priſcam Aegyptiorum religionem, etiam in coelo deus fuit limitaneus, et Horizonta illis ſignificavit.

TANDEM Mercurius Latinis Caducifer dictus eſt, a caduceo, quem manu geſtabat, tanquam ſignum pacis ad lites dirimendas: hujus vocabuli etymon perperam aliquis in lingua Latina inveſtigabit, ni capillis arreptam vocem in rem ſuam faciat, quemadmodum nonnulli ad nauſeam uſque ſolent.

CADUCEUM [z] vox Celtica eſt a *cat*, bellum, diſſenſio; unde Celticae voces *cateia*, telum bellicum, item *caterva*; et *ducken* [*a*] premere, opprimere; Caduceum [*b*] igitur dicitur, quod litibus ſedandis inſerviat; et ipſa figura, illiuſque uſus ex Graecorum [*c*] tabulis id ſatis probat. Quis non videt baculum vel telum, uti in nummo [*d*] M. Antonii exhibetur, terminum repraeſentare, qui inter duos ſerpentes, i. e. de ſua poſſeſſione litigantes viros [*e*], defixus eſt; "ſi Simo et Crito vicini," ut ait Terentius, "de finibus "ambigunt, hic arbiter eſt conſtitutus."

DE nominibus Gallici Mercurii ſatis jam dictum, ut inde ſolide poſſimus inferre, Ogmion Luciani nomina Mercurii Celtica ap-

[z] Boxhorn. Lex. Ant. Brit.

[*a*] Vegetius, lib. ii. 1.

[*b*] Virgilius, Aeneid. vii. 741.
"Teutonico ritu ſoliti torquere Catejas."

[*c*] Stadenius, Voc. Bibl. *ducken*, quoque Hebr. דכא et דכה, Arab. دق

[*d*] Du Choul Relig. des A. Rom. pag. 23.

[*e*] Virgil, Aeneid xii. 897.
"Saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte jacebat,
"Limes agro poſitus litem ut diſcerneret arvis."

tiſſime exprimere, cum omnia deum limitum et viarum deſignent, qualis Mercurius a veteribus cultus fuit.

CUR autem Ogmius a Luciano Hercules potius quam Mercurius dictus fuerit, ſuperius diximus; poſtquam vero vim vocis ejuſque ſenſum explicuimus, demonſtrando Ogmium deum terminorum eſſe, novum ſuggeritur argumentum, ſiquidem in ipſis illis ſtatuis terminalibus Mercurius [*f*] Herculi ſaepe junctus conſpicitur. Hinc in Anthologia Mercurius Herculi junctus viatores ita alloquitur:

Ἄμμες ὅρων φύλακες, διοσοὶ θεοὶ, ὧν ὁ μεν Ἑρμῆς,
Οἷον ὁρῇς μ', ἕτος δ' ἄτερος Ἡρακλέης.

"Nos terminorum cuſtodes, duo dii, quorum hic quidem Mercu-
" rius, ut vides me, ille autem Hercules."

SAEPE quoque in eadem ſtatua fuerunt deſignati, et Hermeraclae [*g*] dicti; ſuperiori parte Hercules, inferiori Mercurius, ut difficile fuerit determinare uter Mercurius ſit an Hercules, praeſertim cum Mercurius ſaepe fuerit Herculis inſtar barbatus [*h*], ut ipſe Lucianus auctor eſt, qui eum σφηνοπώγωνα appellat, quod barbam in uncum demiſſam et biſulcam notat.

HAEC quoad primum quaeſtionis membrum, quis ſit Ogmius. Pergo ad alterum, nempe quas ob rationes Galli hunc attributis illis condecoraverint quae Lucianus refert? Attributa haec ſunt emblema Eloquentiae; aures ad alterius linguam habere devinctas, eſt ab ejus ore pendere, ſermone ejus demulceri, imo dicto ejus audientem eſſe. Tumultuantem plebem viri praeſtantis eloquentia ad ſilentium redactam, Virgilius ita deſcribit, Aeneid. lib. i. 155.

" Tum pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem
" Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant."

[*f*] Spon. Rech. Cur. d'Antiq. p. cxvii. D. 6.

[*g*] Cicero, Att. i. p. 18. " Signa noſtra et Hermeraclas, quam commodiſſime
" poteris, velim imponas."

[*h*] Tale monumentum vides apud illuſt. Com. de Caylus, Rec. d'Antiq. Tom. I. Pl. lxxxviii. p. 217.

MERCURIO

MERCURIO ante alios eloquentiam [*i*] tribuere veteres; hinc etiam Λόγιος, Τραυὸς, dictus; ideo illi ab antiquis linguae victimarum [*k*] oblatae fuerunt; cumque eloquentiae vis tanta ſit, ἰσχυρὸς dicitur, et in ſtatua noſtra Herculis habitu indutus eſt.

SED quid eſt, quod Mercurio Celtarum deo ſuadelam conſecravit antiquitas? Cur tantam hominum multitudinem ſecum trahit? Ejus rationem, ratione enim carere nequit, puto apud Celtas quaerendam eſſe, qui cum nominibus etiam cultum Mercurii induxerunt; hunc arbitramur, primum Gallorum ducem fuiſſe, qui eos,

" —— migrare vetuſto
" De nemore, et proavis habitatas linquere ſilvas"

juſſit, non vi et auctoritate, ſed facundia [*l*], qua gentium duces opus habent; inter quos celeberrimae famae Iſraelitarum dux Moſes, cum natura eloquentiam ei denegaſſet, facundiam fratris efflagitavit, et diſertiſſimo ejus ore numeroſum populum ad novas deduxit ſedes. Habemus ſpecialem emblematis rationem, cum Mercurius a veteribus eloquentiae deus fuerit reputatus; quis vero ille fuerit populus, quas ſedes reliquerit, meum non eſt indagare; ſufficit ob novas habitationes, ſub frigidiore caelo ſitas, poſtmodum Celtas [*m*] fuiſſe vocatos; terminos eorum Diodorus Siculus deſcribit, nempe a Pyrenaeis montibus ad Oceanum, ad Hercynium montem ad Scythas uſque, quorum fluvii hiemali tempore fere omnes congelaſcunt, quorum terra oleum et vinum non producit, homines nativa aetate comas rufas alunt, quos denique Rhenus et Danuvius allambit. Horum numero ergo ſunt omnes populi, qui a Mercurio ejuſque filio Manno nomen traxerunt,

[*i*] Act. xiv. 12.

[*k*] Homerus: γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

[*l*] Horatius, Carm. I. Od. x.

" Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
" Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
" Voce formaſti, laetus et decorae
" More palaeſtrae."

[*m*] Kalt Germ. Angl. *Cold*, unde Celtae.

Theutones,

Theutones, Theutiſci, Theutofodiani, Teudneii, Theutoburgii, Hermiones, Hermunduri, Cenomanni, Marcomanni, Alemanni[*n*], aliique, qui ducis ſui nomen poſteritati conſecrarunt, et infinita fere monumenta, ſtatuas, acervos lapidum, inſcriptiones [*o*] denique in memoriam Mercurii a Scythis uſque ad Hiſpaniam [*p*] reliquere. Stante noſtra hypotheſi, ratio datur quare Mercurius ab antiquis Viacus[*q*] fuerit appellatus; nimirum quoniam ad regiones incognitas viam docuit; datur etiam ratio, quare Ἡγεμόνιος et Ὁδηγὸς [*r*] fuerit vocatus, non aliam ob cauſam, quam quod gentis ſuae dux erat, itinerum comes.

TANDEM opinio noſtra non parum firmatur, eo quod Mercurius limitum deus, et poſſeſſionum judex [*s*] ſit dictus, quae nemini magis quam gentis duci conveniunt, qui coloniis [*t*] in novas ſedes deductis terram diſtribuit, cujuſlibet poſſeſſionem terminis deſignat, tanquam Nomius jus [*u*] dicit, et legibus cavet ne quis de fundo ſuo periclitetur.

HAEC ergo ſunt argumenta, quibus ſententiam meam de Mercurio, tanquam Celtarum duce et conditore ſtabilire decrevi, quae ſi non convincant, Tacitus de Tuiſtone vel Tuiſcone audiatur; hunc enim Mercurium eſſe credo; ſic autem ille [*w*], "celebrant "carminibus antiquis Tuiſtonem deum terra editum, et filium "Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque."

ET haec de Ogmio deo limitum et viarum, Mercurio Herculis habitu condecorato, ſufficere poſſunt.

[*n*] De Chaucis Schildius, lib. ii. 3. de Britannis Camdenus.

[*o*] De Danis Wormius, Mon. Dan.

[*p*] De Hiſpanis Livius, xxvi. 44. "Egreſſus Scipio in tumulum, quem Mer-"curii vocant."

[*q*] Pauſan. vocat ἀγόρα.

[*r*] Gruteri Inſc. DEO MER. VIACO. et it. DEO QVI VIAS ET SEMITAS COMMENTVS EST.

[*s*] Reineſ. et Append. ad Marm. Oxon. N. iv. pag. 309.

[*t*] Ariſtophanes in Plut.

[*u*] Horat. Ep. ii. i. ver. 6. "—— Deorum in templa recepti,
"Dum terras hominumque colunt meritis, aspera bella
"Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt."

[*w*] De Mor. Germ. c. 2.

LI. *Obſer-*

LI. *Obſervations on the* Welſh *Caſtles: By the Honourable* Daines Barrington: *In a Letter to the late Lord Biſhop of* Carliſle.

Read January 14, 1768.

My Lord,

HAVING had ſome converſation with your Lordſhip laſt ſummer with regard to Caerphyli (or Sengenneth Caſtle), and having afterwards travelled very much, at my leiſure, round the ſea coaſt of Wales, I take the liberty of troubling you with ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me in relation to theſe venerable ruins, of which there is ſuch a profuſion in the principality.

As theſe ancient fortreſſes ſo particularly claim the attention of the antiquary, it ſeems rather extraordinary, that we have no better account of the time in which they were firſt built.

Gyraldus Cambrenſis is well known to have made a progreſs with Archbiſhop Baldwine through North and South Wales, in the reign of Henry the Second; but he takes no further notice of the caſtles, than by giving to ſome of the places through which he paſſed the title of Caſtrum; the reaſon for which ſeems to ariſe from their having been very inſignificant at that time, as I ſhall endeavour to prove hereafter.

Leland, indeed, travelled through the principality much later, and had an opportunity of ſeeing ſome of theſe caſtles more complete than they appear at preſent; he barely, however, gives us a catalogue of ſome of them in the different counties; and they ſeem to have neither ſtruck him as an antiquary, nor as picturesque and venerable objects.

AFTER this, we have no writers to conſult, except Humphrey Llwyd and Camden. As for the former of theſe, he is known to have been the tranſlator of Caradoc of Lancarvan, which was certainly his authority for what little he hath ſaid with regard to the Welſh caſtles; and as the tranſlation, with Dr. Powel's notes, was publiſhed before the Britannia, Camden may be ſuppoſed to have had recourſe to this as his chief ſource.

THIS will bring me hereafter to conſider how much Caradoc's account of fortreſſes, which exiſted ſoon after the Conqueſt, is to be applied to the remains of thoſe we ſee at preſent.

HAVING thus mentioned the only authorities from which any light may be expected upon this ſubject, I ſhall now throw together what hath occurred to me, both with regard to the antiquity of the Welſh caſtles, and the uſes for which they were intended.

IN the firſt place, it ſeems to be very clear, that none of theſe fortreſſes were built by the princes of Wales, as no conſiderable remains are to be found near any of thoſe places where they are known to have fixed their reſidence, which they muſt have conſequently endeavoured to have made particularly ſtrong and ſecure.

THE palace of the Prince of North Wales was at Aberfraw; thoſe of the princes of Powiſland, firſt at Pengwern, and afterwards at Mathraval.

THAT of the princes of South Wales was firſt at Carmarthen, and afterwards at Dinevawr.

Now there are no remains either at Aberfraw, Pengwern, or Mathraval; and as for Carmarthen, Caradoc of Lancarvan informs us that the caſtle was twice deſtroyed, in 1196, and 1216; Dinevawr caſtle was alſo raſed in the year 1194. See Powel's hiſtory of Wales, page 244. 247. and 273.

IF it was not for this expreſs mention of Dinevawr being deſtroyed, I ſhould be inclined to think, that its preſent remains

might owe their origin to a prince of S. Wales, as the caſtle is very ſmall and inconſiderable; and if any veſtiges continue of a fortreſs built by the Welſh themſelves, I ſhould imagine it to be thoſe of Carndochen and Teberry, both in Merionethſhire. The firſt of theſe is ſituated five miles S. W. of Bala, on a high hill, and out of all track or road, ſo that it is ſcarcely known in that neighbourhood.

THE latter lies in a line from Dolgelly to Towen, upon a ſmall eminence which riſes in the middle of a valley. I conjecture theſe to have been built by the Welſh, not only becauſe they are of a very inconſiderable ſize, but becauſe this county was ſcarcely ever invaded by the Engliſh. They are, therefore, the only caſtles in it, except Harlech, which, from its magnificence, is clearly a work of later times.

I SHOULD add to theſe Caſtel Dinas Bran in Denbighſhire, was it not ſo near to the Engliſh frontier.

WHOEVER hath ſeen any of the more conſiderable caſtles in Wales, and hath at all reflected upon the ſtate of the principality during the time it was governed by its own princes, will immediately perceive other moſt cogent arguments, why the fortreſſes which remain at this day could ſcarcely have been built by the Welſh themſelves.

CASTLES of any magnitude require money to pay the labourers; ſkill in maſonry at leaſt, if not in architecture; and, laſtly, a number of hands to complete ſuch a work; none of which requiſites were to be found in the principality during that period.

I HAVE never yet heard of a coin in any collection which had the head of a Welſh prince, or could be conſidered in any reſpect as coming from his mint; they therefore wanted the very ſinews of building.

As for ſkill in maſonry, it is much doubted whether the moſt expert of them at preſent can lay the courſes of ſtones ſo regularly, or hew them ſo well, as thoſe in many of the ancient caſtles.

THIS

THIS, however, may be moſt confidently aſſerted, that the maſons, during the reigns of the Llewellins and Rees's, were as incapable of executing ſtone work in ſo maſterly a manner, as they would be at preſent of carving an elegant Corinthian capital. They will be found alſo to have been ſtill more deficient in regard to the laſt moſt material requiſite, a proper number of workmen.

So thinly was the principality inhabited before the time of Edward the Firſt, that the Welſh hiſtories are totally ſilent with regard to any town in the moſt populous parts, or even near the reſidence of their princes.

THE country was, therefore, not better peopled during this period, than the deſarts and wilderneſſes of America.

To this it may be added, that they could not be aſſiſted in ſuch works by the Engliſh or Iriſh, as they had no trade or intercourſe with either of theſe neighbouring nations. It may be doubted alſo whether they had any agriculture.

THE want of inhabitants may be further proved by compariſon with the number of people at preſent in the Welſh counties, which are as much improved in cultivation as any other parts of the iſland; at leaſt, I can ſee no difference, except in the management of their quickſet fences, which are not equal to thoſe in moſt parts of England.

IT is unneceſſary to ſay, therefore, that a country which is ſo much improved in its agriculture, which hath now conſiderable towns, and alſo ſome mines, muſt at the ſame time be better peopled; whilſt they enjoy likewiſe in common with England the bleſſings of the moſt mild and perfect of governments.

I HAVE taken ſome pains to aſcertain the preſent number of inhabitants in Angleſey, Carnarvonſhire, and Merionethſhire: though I cannot pretend to any preciſion or accuracy in this point, I am perſuaded, that the ſouls (as the writers upon political arithmetic

metic expreſs themſelves) of all ages, and both ſexes, do not exceed 50,000. The labouring men, conſequently, are not above 10,000.

I WILL mention the means which I have uſed to procure this information, as I know part of what I muſt ſtate will give infinite ſatisfaction to your Lordſhip.

BESIDES inquiries from intelligent perſons in different parts of the counties, I have applied to ſome of the clergy with regard to the number of communicants at the more ſolemn feſtivals, the people of the principality punctually attending theſe, as, indeed, they do every other religious duty.

As the women muſt be included in this method of numeration, and the age of communicants may in general be ſuppoſed the ſame with that of men capable of bearing arms, viz. from 20 to 60, I ſhould conjecture, that the communicants may amount to two fifths of the number of ſouls, as the proportion of men between theſe ages is commonly calculated to be one fifth.

I TAKE the liberty likewiſe of here mentioning to your Lordſhip (though it hath no relation to the ſubject of this letter) that I have been informed there is not a ſingle papiſt in theſe three counties, notwitſtanding the preſent alarm with regard to the increaſe of popery.

HAVING thus endeavoured to ſhew the probability that the Welſh caſtles were not built by the princes of that country; I ſhall hazard a conjecture, that all the more conſiderable, were the works of Edward the Firſt; I ſhall at the ſame time allow, that perhaps ſome of the leſs important, were fortreſſes of the Lords Marchers, or grantees of the crown.

WE know with certainty that thoſe of Conway, Beaumaris, and Carnarvon, owe their origin to this king; and, if I am right in what I have before obſerved, many others are equally to be aſcribed to him.

BEFORE

BEFORE this reign, the ſtate of both civil and military architecture was at a very low ebb; but it ſhould ſeem that Edward the Firſt had brought with him from the Cruſade plans of fortreſſes erected by the Chriſtians in that part of Aſia, which was then conteſted with the Mahometans.

DURING the ſeaſons, when it was improper to carry on the operations of a campaign, that moſt numerous army, collected from all parts of Europe, could have been in no way ſo well employed as in raiſing ſtrong fortifications to protect the Chriſtian frontier [*a*].

I SUPPOSE that this king had ſeen ſuch caſtles in Aſia; for I cannot hear, on enquiry, that any of the ſame kind are to be found in other parts of Europe; nor does Pouſſin, or the other great painters of landſcape, make uſe of them, though ſo very pictureſque objects.

EDWARD was three years in Paleſtine, at a proper age to make remarks of this ſort; and no other king of Europe was ever on the ſame expedition, who had either taſte to carry what he had ſeen into execution, or ever had occaſion, or the means, to erect ſuch expenſive and magnificent fortreſſes.

As for Richard the Firſt, his long captivity, in his return from the Holy Land, prevented his undertaking any works of this kind; beſides this, he had not conquered ſuch a country as Wales, which might require fortifications of any conſequence.

As for Saint Lewis, though he made a Cruſade, yet he ſeems to have thought of little more than counting his beads, or perhaps

[*a*] Fuller, in his account of the holy wars, expreſsly mentions the building of many fortifications in Aſia by the Chriſtians: "And now (*i. e.* anno 1192) the "Chriſtians began every where to build; the Templars fortified Gaza; King Ri-"chard repaired and walled Ptolemais, Porphyra, Joppa, and Aſkalon" b. iii. c. 2. See alſo B. iv. c. 8 where elegance in Richard's buildings in Paleſtine is mentioned. Fuller's authority for this ſeems to be Willelmus Tyrenſis, who was Treaſurer to a ſubſequent Cruſade, and Archbiſhop of Tyre.

haps ſeeing the holy ſepulchre, in common with the other pilgrims of that time: he died alſo on the expedition.

EDWARD the Firſt, however, meant not only to conquer in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, but to make uſe of the military knowledge he had acquired during the Cruſade, in acquiſitions to the crown of England.

As the annexing Wales to the Engliſh dominions was deſervedly his firſt and moſt favourite object, he was determined not only to acquire the principality by his armies, led by himſelf in perſon, but to ſecure it by a ſtrong chain of forts.

FOR this purpoſe he continued a whole year in North Wales, (as Prynne [*b*] hath irrefragably proved); during which time he muſt have employed his large army and numerous garriſons in carrying on theſe fortifications, as the principality in its then ſtate of population could not have furniſhed labourers.

HE muſt likewiſe have had able engineers with him to execute ſuch plans, as alſo ſome maſter maſons from England.

WHEN he had built theſe magnificent ſtructures, he could not but wiſh, like moſt improvers of more modern times, that they ſhould be admired by others: it was for this reaſon, I am perſuaded, he ſent for his Queen; I have alſo little doubt, but that every good Engliſh courtier viſited the principality, and properly commended the royal architecture.

HAVING thus attempted to ſhew, that moſt of the conſiderable caſtles of Wales owe their origin to Edward the Firſt; however ignorant I may be of what relates to military operations, I ſhall, nevertheleſs, take the liberty of a common traveller, who hath ſeen almoſt every one of thoſe fortreſſes, to make ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me with regard to the uſe of them, as alſo what ſeems to have fixed moſt of their ſituations.

[*b*] See his Animadverſions on Sir Edward Coke's IVth Inſt. pag. 57.

THE

THE caſtles upon the larger plans are almoſt univerſally either upon the ſea coaſt, or not far from the mouths of great rivers, or arms of the ſea.

SUCH expenſive fortifications ſecured the landing of Engliſh troops, which could not be marched through the inland parts, both from frequent attacks in the paſſes of the mountains, as alſo from want of proviſions.

THE kings of England, therefore, when they invaded either North or South Wales, always kept near to the ſea coaſt, except in the unfortunate expedition of Henry the Second, who attempted to march his army over the Berwin mountains, which was conſequently defeated, and nearly deſtroyed by cold and famine.

WE found, in the late war, the great difficulty and expence of marching four or five thouſand men to Lake Champlain or Oſwego; and Wales was, perhaps a ſtill leſs practicable country, in the 12th or 13th centuries.

THE reaſon of theſe caſtles being ſometimes built at ſmall diſtances, ſeems to be owing to a want of reciprocal aſſiſtance in caſe of an attack by the Welſh, who, having no fleet, could not interrupt the communication by ſea.

THUS, for example, the garriſons of Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway, could at any time ſend ſupplies of proviſions or men by the Menay, to the fortreſs which apprehended an attack.

THE leſs important caſtles are to be found generally on the marches which divided England from Wales; and it was not neceſſary for the Engliſh to build them upon ſo large a ſcale, as aſſiſtance was ſo near at hand in caſe of an attack. The Welſh likewiſe were not provided with any military engines, or means of forming a regular ſiege: it is to the uſe of formidable battering trains of artillery that we owe the expenſive plans of a Cohorn or a Vauban. The caſtles of Edward the Firſt were

rather

rather calculated for parade and ornament, than for a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the enterprizes of ſuch an enemy as the Welſh.

BESIDES theſe fortreſſes on the frontier, there are a good number of caſtles, both in Glamorganſhire and Pembrokeſhire, which are neither on the ſea coaſt, nor on the confines of England.

THE firſt of theſe were probably built by the deſcendants of the twelve knights adventurers, who conquered that county under Fitzhammon, in the time of William Rufus.

THOSE in Pembrokeſhire by the deſcendants of the Flemings, who were ſent there in the reign of Henry the Firſt. I ſay, by the deſcendants, becauſe on their firſt ſettling they could not have had a ſufficient number of hands to carry on ſuch works. Whatever they might have been when firſt completed, we find mention in Caradoc's hiſtory of moſt of the caſtles in both theſe counties being deſtroyed.

IT ſhould follow, from what I have been thus endeavouring to prove, that the central parts of Wales, being the counties inhabited by the Welſh themſelves after the Engliſh conqueſts, ſhould have ſcarcely any caſtles at all; if any one, therefore, will draw a line from Cowbridge in Glamorganſhire, to Denbigh, he will find this to be the caſe. I have fixed upon theſe two towns, as being each of them about ten miles from the ſea coaſt, and lying nearly North and South.

I THINK I could account for almoſt every caſtle in each county upon theſe principles; but this would lead me to a very tedious enumeration, and I fear that I am already ſcarcely intelligible without the aſſiſtance of a map of the principality.

BUT it may be ſaid, that theſe conjectures are contrary to the Welſh hiſtories, which mention caſtles that were the works of the Welſh and Engliſh, before the reign of Edward the Firſt.

THAT ſuch might have been built, there can be no diſpute; but if by the Welſh, I am confident, they could have been little

more than a fortification of ſods; or if by the Engliſh, previous to that time, they muſt ſtill have been very inconſiderable. If this kind of military architecture had been brought to any degree of perfection in the reign of Henry the Second, would not that king have ſecured his conqueſt of Ireland by ſuch fortreſſes?

I SHALL not here repeat what I have already urged on theſe two heads; but with regard to the ſuppoſition of large caſtles being built by the Engliſh Lord Marchers or adventurers, I muſt obſerve, that it was a fundamental rule of policy with the kings of England, not to permit their powerful vaſſals to erect fortifications of a conſiderable ſtrength. They were not wanted againſt the Welſh, and, therefore, could be only uſed againſt the crown: I may add alſo to this, that a Lord Marcher was not equal to the expence.

I MUST likewiſe obſerve, that it by no means follows, becauſe Caradoc of Lancarvan mentions a caſtle having been built before the time of Edward the Firſt, (remains of which, bearing the ſame name, continue at this day), that theſe are the ruins of that identical one which he gives an account of.

THE fortreſs may have been ſo much repaired as to become a new one; or it may have been entirely rebuilt at a ſmall diſtance. The caſtles of Flint and Rhydland were thus refortified and augmented by Edward the Firſt.

I PRETEND to no greater knowledge in the Welſh language, than having picked up the names of the principal objects that have occurred on the road; I can, however, from the etymology of a word, ſhew a probable conjecture, that a caſtle may have changed its ſituation, though not its name.

It ſeems to be generally agreed, that Pengwern, where the princes of Powiſland are ſaid to have had a palace, is the ſame with Shrewſbury.

Now Pengwern ſignifies land at the end of a moraſs; and this is by no means applicable to the ſituation of Shrewſbury at preſent.

BUT there is no occaſion to decline the authority of the great Welſh hiſtorian; if he raiſes a caſtle in one page, he often deſtroys it in the next; in ſhort, in the early times, they were eaſily built and eaſily thrown down. Every page almoſt of Caradoc's hiſtory furniſhes proofs of this.

I SHALL, however, particularize the inſtance of Caerphily caſtle, as I had the honour of a converſation with your Lordſhip on this head, which hath, indeed, been the occaſion of my troubling you with theſe obſervations.

THIS is, perhaps, the moſt conſiderable fortreſs in the principality; and therefore ſhould be, according to what I have already preſumed to conjecture,

" ——— Regis opus,"

and of no other king than the conqueror of Wales [*c*].

CARADOC informs us, that Rees Prees raſed the caſtle of Sengenneth in the year 1221; he likewiſe mentions, that it was refortified two years afterwards by John le Bruſe [*d*]. Now, I will refer it to any one who hath ever ſeen theſe magnificent ruins, whether a prince of S. Wales could take ſuch a fortreſs as the remains ſhew it to have been. I am perſuaded he would not have pulled it down even in the compaſs of two years, as he had neither gunpowder nor battering rams to uſe againſt it; which Sir Chriſtopher Wren was obliged to employ in demoliſhing the old cathedral of Saint Paul's.

MUCH leſs could a Lord Marcher refortify it in that time.

As it is, therefore, clear from Caradoc's authority, that this caſtle was raſed and refortified within the compaſs of two years, during the reign of Henry the Third, I conclude that it was a very common and inſignificant fortreſs.

[*c*] This king had a *Clericus Operationum Caſtrorum.* See the lately printed petition to parliament, 1ſt Edw. II. as alſo the calendar of ancient Charters, p. 83, 10 Edw. I. It is alſo remarkable, that none of Edward the Firſt's caſtles ſeem to have been even attempted by the Welſh.

[*d*] See Powel's Hiſtory of Wales, p. 278 and 271.

WHEN then could this vaſt ſtructure be built, but in the reign of Henry's ſucceſſor? who meant to give South Wales a ſpecimen of his magnificent architecture, as he had already done in North Wales, by building the caſtles of Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway [*e*].

IF it be ſaid, that it cannot be ſuppoſed the Welſh hiſtory would be ſilent on this head, my anſwer is, that Caradoc only mentions this king's having built the caſtle of Beaumaris, without taking notice of either Carnarvon or Conway, which we know, with the greateſt certainty, to have been works of Edward the Firſt.

I MAY add to this, by way of ſtrengthening the conjecture, that this king once returned from North Wales by the ſea coaſt through South Wales, and proceeded thence to Briſtol [*f*].

IT is, therefore, highly probable, that in this progreſs he might paſs the Taf at a ford near Caerphily (as I conclude there was then no bridge or ferry at Cardyff), and might at the ſame time have fixed the ſituation of that caſtle, the ruins of which are ſtill ſo magnificent and ſtupendous.

BUT it may poſſibly be urged, that ſome of theſe conſiderable fortreſſes were built by the ſucceſſors of Edward the Firſt. To which I anſwer, that the Kings of England ſeem to have paid very little attention of any kind to the principality after its conqueſt, till the reign of Henry the Eighth: Dr. Powel's continuation of its hiſtory till that period does not fill above 20 pages.

[*e*] "So well founded is the conjecture, that Edward the Firſt built what now "remains of the preſent caſtle of Caerphily, that Mr. Miller of Warwickſhire, one "of the beſt architects and antiquaries now living, pronounced it the work of "that prince ſeveral years ago, before it was known that Caerphily and Sengen-"neth were the ſame, and when this vaſt ſtructure was generally eſteemed a Ro-"man work."

The late Biſhop of Carliſle was ſo obliging as to add this confirmation of my conjectures, ſince the letter had the honour of being communicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

[*f*] See Gale, vol. III. p. 112.

SOME antiquaries have likewiſe attributed many of theſe ſtructures to the Romans [*g*].

WITH regard to this ſuppoſition, it may be ſaid, that ſuch caſtles might chiefly have been expected near Cheſter and Caerleon, as thoſe were the moſt fixed and eminent ſtations for the Roman legions.

Now I cannot obſerve, that any of the fortreſſes, near either of theſe places, differ materially in their architecture from thoſe which are known to be the works of much later times. If any conſiderable caſtles likewiſe in Great Britain had been the works of the Romans, we muſt undoubtedly have found ſome remains of them at proper intervals near Severus's wall; but I never happened to hear of ſuch.

BESIDES this, it muſt be conſidered, that the Roman garriſons both in Germany and Gaul were preciſely in the ſame ſituation that they were in England, being equally ſurrounded by the natives, who occaſionally roſe againſt them.

Now I have often inquired from travellers, whether they had ever ſeen in France or Germany caſtles like thoſe in Wales, and have always been anſwered in the negative.

IT is undoubtedly true, however, that the Romans raiſed *φρυρια* (generally tranſlated caſtles) in almoſt every part of their empire, againſt the incurſions of the barbarians.

PROCOPIUS hath a particular treatiſe "De Aedificiis Juſtiniani," and enumerates upwards of 500 [*b*].

As there are no remains of theſe fortreſſes, it ſhould ſeem, that when the Romans built a temple or amphitheatre, they not only conſidered magnificence but duration; any haſty fortification was,

[*g*] See Archaeologia vol. II. p. 2. as alſo Humphrey Llwyd, "Praeter Caer-"phily antiquiſſimum quod *opus Romanorum* praedicant" Commentariolum.

[*b*] Leland makes the following memorandum at p. 108 of the 7th vol. of his Itinerary, "Remember to conclude with a promiſe to write a book in Latin of the "king's edifices, as Procopius did of Juſtinan the Emperor."

however,

however, deemed ſufficient againſt barbarians, and therefore we have no traces of them at preſent.

IT is high time, however, that I ſhould releaſe your Lordſhip from this tedious length of letter, and ſubſcribe myſelf

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt faithful humble ſervant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. IT may, perhaps, ſurprize your Lordſhip, who are ſo converſant in every thing which relates to Britiſh antiquities, that I have not taken any notice of the remains of that magnificent caſtle called Braich y Dhinas, ſaid to be on the top of Penmanmawr.

As this is mentioned in the additions to biſhop Gibſon's tranſlation of the Britannia, (p. 804.) I have frequently made enquiries concerning it; and have always been anſwered, that there are no traces of any ſuch ſtructure.

I REMEMBER particularly to have deſired my brother Dr. Barrington, and Mr. Holland of Conway, who went to the top of this mountain ſome years ago in ſearch of plants, to obſerve whether there were any ſuch remains. They could find, however, neither caſtle nor plant; nor any thing the leaſt remarkable, except a common *carnedd* or heap of ſtones.

ANOTHER ſuppoſed wonder of this mountain I muſt beg leave to contradict on my own knowledge. It is univerſally believed in that neighbourhood, that wild lemons grow near the ſummit of Penmanmawr. I once happened to procure a branch of this extraordinary ſhrub, and it turned out to be the "Sorbus Syl-"veſtris," which is not very uncommon in mountainous countries; the fruit, indeed, ſomewhat reſembles a young and unripe lemon.

LII. *An Account of some Remains of* Roman *and other Antiquities in and near the Town of* Brecknock, *in* South Wales: *By* John Strange, *Esq*; *In a Letter to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read April 13 and 20, 1769.

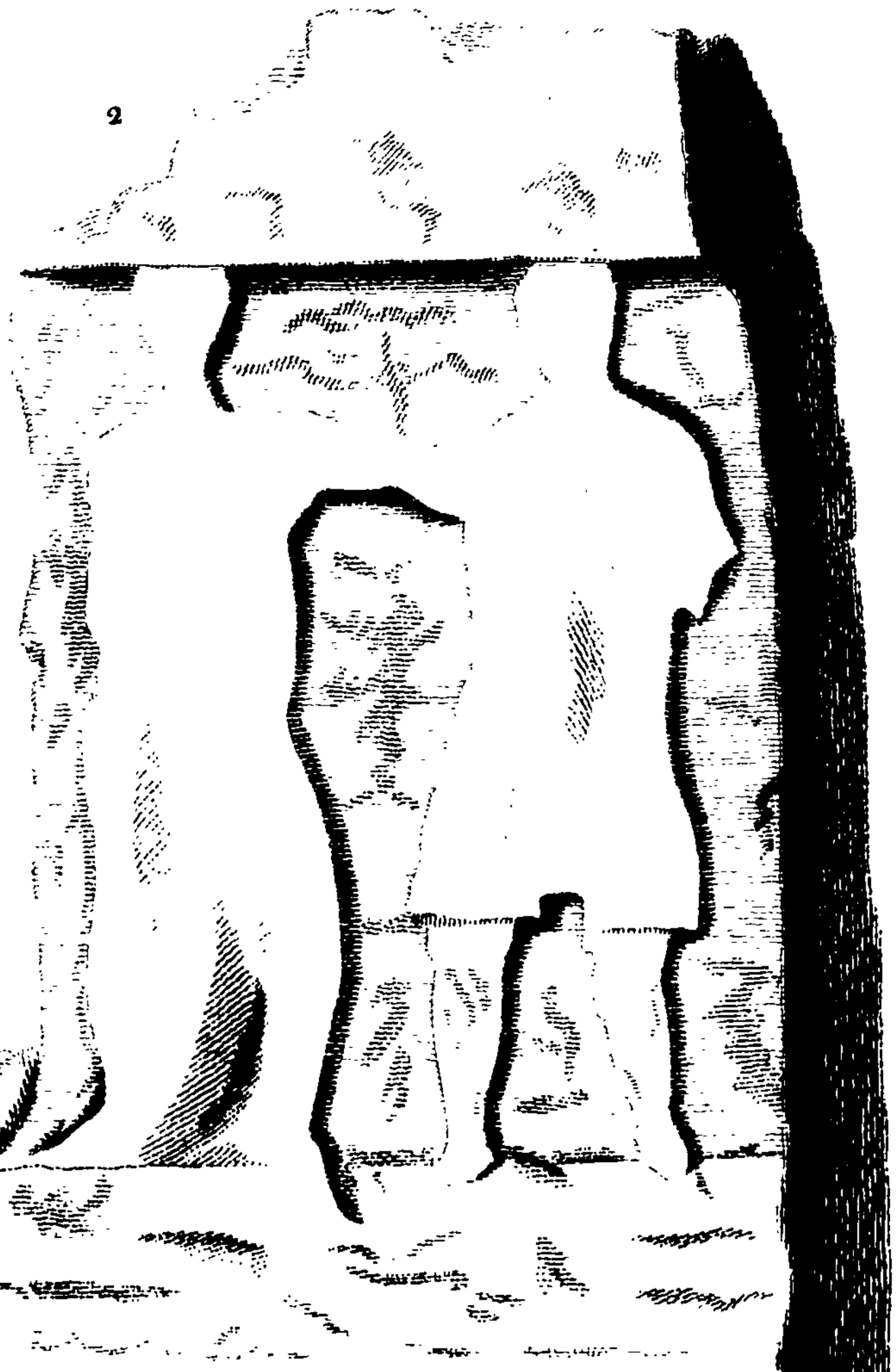
IT seems at present generally received among the learned, that the principality of Wales supplies very few remains of Roman antiquities. Some of the inscriptions collected by Camden have scarcely been admitted as genuine by succeeding antiquaries. Upon considering, however, that the second Augustan legion had indisputably their head-quarters at *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire; that there were other Roman stations (as *Maridunum*, *Luentium*, and *Segontium*) in the more remote parts of the country; and that the eleventh and twelfth Iter in the Itinerary of Antoninus skirted the North and East sides of it; I was hence persuaded, that the intermediate provinces might afford more traces of the Romans than have hitherto been observed; and a late tour through Wales gave me an opportunity of making some enquiries relative to this subject. Little new may, perhaps, be expected after such distinguished writers as Leland, Camden, and the ingenious author of the Archaeologia. But as the former only proposed an Itinerary through the country; as it does not appear that Camden visited every part himself; and as Lhwyd sometimes depended on the relations of others; sufficient scope yet remains for the researches of the inquisitive. As, therefore, these researches formed one principal object of my tour, I esteem myself

A Scale, *1 Inch to a Foot.*

1



2



3



X L
L
CONIVNX EIV T

myſelf obliged to communicate the fruits of them to the judgment of this learned Society; and have endeavoured to merit their indulgence, by confining myſelf to a mere narration of facts.

FROM the evidence of Roman coins frequently found in and about the town of Brecknock, Camden was of opinion, that this country was inhabited in the time of the Romans [*a*]. Lhwyd's further enquiries confirmed that opinion, for he particularly informs us of a Roman brick, ſtampt LEG. II. AVG. dug up near Brecknock, and of a ſquare camp at a place called *The Gaer*, about three miles from the town. But as he only ſlightly mentions this camp, and is miſtaken in ſome particulars relating to it, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply his omiſſions, by giving a more exact account of a place which I think not undeſerving the attention of a curious traveller. It is ſuperfluous to remark, that the very name of *The Gaer* is a ſufficient proof of its antiquity; the word itſelf importing a *round wall* or *fortification*; and moſt of the places in that country, where ſuch works have been made, retain this name even at preſent. But *The Gaer* near Brecknock ſeems to have been ſo called by way of diſtinction, as being the moſt conſiderable fortification in that part of the country. As bricks with the aforeſaid inſcription upon them are frequently found upon the very ſpot, and conſiderable ruins of a Roman wall are ſtill remaining, it is probable that a detachment of the ſecond Britannick legion, from Caerleon in Monmouthſhire, was ſtationed at this place. Theſe bricks even now are ſo common, that a ſervant in the family at *The Gaer* found one for me upon a day's notice, which meaſured 8 inches ſquare, and 2½ thick, and is ſtampt nearly in the middle in the ſame form with thoſe dug up at Caerleon. Since my return to London, I have been appriſed by Thomas Jones, Eſq. of the Exchequer, that other Roman

[*a*] Biſhop Gibſon's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. II. pag. 705.

bricks

bricks have been dug up in the area of this camp, of an oblong ſquare form, and with the ſame inſcription LEG. II. AVG. ſtampt acroſs one of the corners [*b*]. Mr. Jones ſaw one dug up at *The Gaer* about five years ſince; and likewiſe aſſures me, that ſeveral of the ſame kind were found at this place ſome years before.

BUT to bring thoſe remains of antiquity more immediately under your notice, let me obſerve, that the place, now called *The Gaer*, is a ſmall farm belonging to the widow of David Williams, Eſq. about three miles North-weſt from *Brecknock*; within half a mile of the farm houſe, the preſent road from *Brecknock* joins an old Roman cauſeway; which, though much broken and over-run with buſhes, is ſtill very diſcernible. It was originally a raiſed way near forty feet wide, and ſeems to have been chiefly made with large round pebbles of various ſizes, collected probably from the bed of a neighbouring river. This cauſeway runs in a direction nearly at right angles with the *Eſkir*, a ſmall brook which joins the river *Uſk* juſt below the *Gaer*. I could find no traces of it on the other ſide of the *Eſkir*, nor ſigns of a Roman road any where in that neighbourhood, except near *Rhyd y Briw* bridge, about ſeven miles from *Brecknock* in the road to Trecaſtle, where there are very viſible remains of one, which will be mentioned in a ſubſequent part of this letter. The cauſeway at *The Gaer* ſeems then to have conducted only to this ſtation; and was, in all probability, a branch of the great Roman cauſeway leading from *Caerleon* in Monmouthſhire through the vale of *Uſk*, and the Eaſtern part of Brecknockſhire to *Ariconium*, which is the 12th Iter in Antoninus's Itinerary. In the middle of this cauſeway, about a quarter of a mile ſhort of the farm houſe, is the monumental ſtone deſcribed and engraved by Mr. Lhwyd [*c*]. It is called *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden ſtone; from a tradition

[*b*] See Plate IX. Fig. i.

[*c*] Gibſon's Camden's Britannia, vol. II. pag. 894. Fig. VI.

prevailing

prevailing among the common people in the neighbourhood, that it was erected to the memory of two virgins who were murdered there. It formerly lay by the road ſide, but was ſet up in the place where it now ſtands a few years ago, and is about ſix feet high from the ground, and three and a half wide. Mr. Lhwyd gives it only two feet in width, and doubts whether it be Britiſh or Roman. The bas relief upon it, repreſenting probably a ſoldier and his wife, rude as it is, ſeems clearly of Roman ſculpture. Had we, indeed, no other proof, there is ſuch a preciſion in all their works, even of the moſt barbarous ages, as ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes them from the unmeaning ſtrokes of Gothiciſm. But there is likewiſe an actual inſcription in good Roman characters upon the ſtone itſelf under the figures, not mentioned by Mr. Lhwyd; which, though in great meaſure effaced by time, yet manifeſtly appears to have conſiſted of four lines in a regular compartment; and the word CONIVNX, which begins the laſt line, with ſeveral other letters, is ſtill plainly legible. Mrs. *Williams*, the preſent owner of *The Gaer*, who has lived there about forty years, aſſured me, that the whole inſcription has been legible within her memory. As the aforeſaid engraving of this ſtone by Mr. Lhwyd is not by any means a juſt repreſentation of it, I have furniſhed[*d*] another from a drawing made upon the ſpot, and obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Serjeant Whitaker. The figures in bas relief upon this ſtone are three feet and a half high, and the area on which they are wrought is, in ſome places, two or three inches below the ſurface of the upper and lower part of the ſtone, which Mr. Lhwyd has taken notice of, and which, indeed, is not uncommon in bas reliefs of the latter Roman empire.

THE ſituation of the camp at *The Gaer* agrees entirely with the practice commonly obſerved by the Romans in fixing their ſtations; for it is on a riſing ground, near the confluence of two

[*d*] See Plate IX. Fig. II.

rivers. We know likewiſe, from many of the ſtations *per lineam valli*, and elſewhere, that the Romans were particularly fond of chuſing the *lingula*, or angle between two rivers, as by that means they ſaved the trouble of other fortifications. If any accidental circumſtance of ſituation rendered that ſpot diſadvantageous, another was choſen; and as, in the preſent caſe, the angle between the *Uſk* and the *Eſkir* lay in a bottom, the Romans fixed upon a ſmall eminence, gradually riſing from the North-Eaſt bank of the latter, from whence they commanded an extenſive view of the vale of *Uſk* between *Brecknock* and Trecaſtle. As to the camp itſelf, it is a parallelogram of 624 feet by 456, the longeſt parallels pointing nearly South and North. The foundation of the wall which bounds this area remains entire; and even the ruins of it above ground are, in ſome places (particularly on the North and Eaſt ſides), from three to ſix feet high, and part of the facing is ſtill perfect. This conſiſts of ſquared ſtones of about twelve inches dimenſion, the middle being filled up with rubble, and the whole thickneſs of the wall is nearly ſeven feet and a half. It is in every reſpect ſimilar to the remains of the walls of *Caerleon* and *Caerwent* in Monmouthſhire. The farm-houſe and offices at *The Gaer* are built in the North-Weſt angle of this camp, and chiefly from the ruins of the ſaid wall. After repeated ſearches, I could find no ſigns of any inſcription either on the ſtones uſed in the farm-houſe and buildings, or upon thoſe which lay looſe in the yard and fields. I obſerved no mark of the chiſel, except on part of the baſe of a ſmall pedeſtal, which I found by the hedge ſide within the walls, and a large piece of ſtone that ſeemed to have been the ſquared member of a building, lying on the cauſeway not far from the farm-houſe. I was, however, upon enquiry, aſſured, that many fragments of figured ſtones, urns with aſhes in them, braſs and ſilver coins, had been found at different times within the walls of the camp; and likewiſe, when this piece of ground was laſt ploughed, that ſome traces

traces of a kind of brick drain were diſcovered, made of ſemicircular tiles of about an inch thick. Whether this might have ſerved as a water-duct, or a kind of ſubterraneous funnel for the communication of heat, agreeably to what is ſuppoſed of the like remains at Stunfield in Oxfordſhire, I cannot determine. This ſpot was fallow laſt ſeaſon, and is one of the home fields of the farm; the foundation of the old wall, with the buſhes which overrun them, ſerving to fence it from the adjacent lands. I muſt not omit to obſerve, that about a mile from this place, and two miles nearly North-Weſt from Brecknock, on the ſummit of a high hill, are the remains of a very large Britiſh camp, called *Pen y Crug*, which ſignifies the *chief heap* or *barrow*, forming an oval figure, ſurrounded by three very deep and broad intrenchments. Neither Leland, Camden, nor Lhwyd, take any notice of it; which is the more ſurpriſing, as it appears to be one of the moſt curious and beſt-preſerved remains of that kind throughout the whole principality.

During my ſtay in Brecknockſhire, I made an excurſion to *Yniſkedwin* in the vale of Tawy, and on the confines of Glamorganſhire, in order to examine the tract of the mountainous country which forms the boundary of thoſe two counties. Returning from thence by *Uſtraedvelty* and Merthyr Tudvell to *Brecknock*, about a mile beyond Capel Coelbryn, I fell in with ſome very conſiderable remains of a Roman cauſeway, which, ſo far as I recollect, is not obſerved by any writer, though it continues uninterrupted for a mile, at leaſt, in a very open country, and is ſeen from all quarters to the diſtance of two or three miles. If *Sarn Elen*, or Helen's cauſeway, which is ſaid to have led from *Carnarvon* to *Saliſbury* in Wiltſhire, croſſed Brecknockſhire into Glamorganſhire, theſe remains muſt certainly have been a part of it; but as it is ſuppoſed by moſt antiquaries to have taken its courſe through Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire, it ſeems very improbable,

bable, that any part of it ſhould lie in ſo remote a corner; unleſs it made a circuit, ſtriking off in a South-Eaſt direction from Merionethſhire (where there are traces of it) towards the Severn ſea, and ſo returned by the vale of *Uſk* into Herefordſhire by the 12th Iter of Antoninus. In this caſe, the remnant of the cauſeway before mentioned near *Rhyd y Briw* bridge, between *Brecknock* and *Trecaſtle*, may have been a part of it; and *Talſarn*, which ſignifies the *end of the cauſeway*, and is in that adjacent part of Carmarthenſhire, may have derived its name from it, as Mr. Kennet [*e*] ſuppoſes *Taly Sarn*, on the river Conway in Carnarvonſhire, had done. Whether it was a part of Helen's cauſeway, or of ſome other Roman road leading from Neath over the mountains into Brecknockſhire, I will not pretend to aſſert, but am certain it has all the marks of a Roman work. It is a raiſed road about forty feet wide, with a ditch on each ſide. I could trace no ſigns of it to the North of the little ſtream that runs by *Capel Coelbryn*, and joins the Tawy; but to the South you command it in a direct line, for near a mile, up the ſide of a hill called *Mynidd Hir*, or the *long mountain*, a high ridge extending itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt between, and almoſt at right angles with, the vales of Tawy and Neath. This cauſeway is ſtill frequented by the country people coming from *Neath* towards *Capel Coelbryn*, and other hamlets and farms in that neighbourhood; the ground on each ſide of it being boggy, and in many places not paſſable. I followed the whole extent of it, up the ſide of the *long mountain*, and then made an angle to the Eaſt, in order to join the vale of *Neath*. Going through a gate into the croſs road, I obſerved a large ſtone in the wall with the remains of an inſcription upon it, which, unfortunately, is in a great meaſure effaced by time; but I could plainly diſcern MARC in very good Roman characters. This ſtone for many years ſerved as the gate-poſt; but is now part of a looſe or

[*e*] Parochial Antiquities in Hiſt. of Alcheſter and Burceſter.

uncemented

uncemented wall, and lies upon the eſtate of Herbert Macworth, Eſq. who, as I am informed, intends to remove it to his ſeat at the Knoll near Neath. A few yards beyond the ſpot where I entered the croſs road, the Roman cauſeway is entirely deſtroyed; which may be attributed to its being on the ſteep ſide of a mountain, and ſo gradually worn down by the violence of the rains. No mention is made of this Roman cauſeway by any writer on this ſubject, owing probably to its being in ſuch a remote and unfrequented part of the country. Nor is this ſuprizing, ſince others much nigher home, and of greater conſequence, have ſhared the ſame fate. Plot[*f*] obſerves, that neither Camden, Sir H. Spelman, nor any other author, mention any thing of that part of the *Ikineld* way which paſſes through Oxfordſhire, though it is eaſily traced, and in many places retains its old name to this day.

As the remains of the caſtles in and near this county are in themſelves very inconſiderable, and are already well known from Mr. Buck's engravings, it is unneceſſary to enter into a particular deſcription of them. It may not, however, be impertinent to give a ſhort account of the remains of *Morlaſs* caſtle, ſince, by its ſituation in a very remote and unfrequented part of the country, ſome curious particulars relating to it have hitherto paſſed unnoticed. It is on the confines of Glamorganſhire, about three miles North-Eaſt from Merthyr Tudvell, and a few furlongs to the Weſtward of the road leading from Cardiffe to Brecknock. Leland[*g*], whoſe Itinerary, as far as it reſpects this country, is in general very exact, has by miſtake placed this caſtle in the valley; whereas it is built on the ſummit of a very high hill which commands the whole country, in as bold a ſituation as any inland caſtle I have ſeen throughout Wales. Nature has ſufficiently defended it on the North and Weſt ſides by the height and ſteep-

[*f*] Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, chap. x.
[*g*] Itinerary, vol. IV. pag. 37.

neſs

neſs of the hill itſelf, and by the deep bottom of the leſſer Tave which runs at the foot of it. The South and Eaſt ſides, though naturally weak, are ſtrengthened by a deep and wide trench cut in the ſolid rock. The area, on which the main body of the caſtle was built within this trench, forms a kind of irregular pentagon; on the outſide of the trench are the foundations of ſeveral walls, of about three feet and a half thick, interſecting each other in various directions, and forming a kind of outwork. The whole remains within and without the trench include, at leaſt, an acre of ground. From the appearance which the ruins of this caſtle make at preſent, one might, upon a curſory view, ſcarcely imagine that any part of it continues entire. But on going through a narrow ſubterraneous paſſage, which I diſcovered among the ruins, it conducted me into a circular Gothic room, ſtill in perfect preſervation, and meaſuring about thirty feet in diameter. The ſides are adorned with twelve flat arches, in which the doors and windows were placed; and a central pillar ſupports the roof, in the ſame manner as in the circular Gothic room at Margam in this ſame county, which it likewiſe perfectly reſembles in its ornaments and ſtyle of architecture. This room, which is one of the greateſt curioſities on this ſide of the country, is ſo buried by the ruins of other parts of the caſtle which have fallen about it, that there is ſcarce any appearance of it above ground, chance alone leading me to the diſcovery. But to return to our Roman antiquities.

SOME antiquaries have been of opinion, that Buahlt, a ſmall market town on the Weſt bank of the river *Wye*, was the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy; but I could not find, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, that any Roman coins, bricks, or other remains of antiquity, had ever been found in that neighbourhood; and ſince the town of Buahlt is ſituated in a ſmall tract of valley or bottom, ſurrounded on all ſides by a very high range of mountains, had the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy been ſituated in any part of this vale, ſome relicks of antiquity could hardly, I imagine, have eſcaped

eſcaped us. This ſeems to ſtrengthen the doubts which Mr. Lhwyd [*b*] likewiſe had upon the ſame ſubject. I cannot, however, agree with him in placing *Bullaeum Silurum* at *Kaereu*, or *Cairé* in this county; ſince I could never learn, that there ever were any Roman antiquities diſcovered at or near that place. *Cairé* is in the pariſh of *Llangarnmarch* in the vale of *Ithon*, about eighteen miles North-Weſt by North from *Brecknock*, and twelve miles South-Weſt by South from *Llandrindod* wells in Radnorſhire. I had not an opportunity of viſiting this ſpot myſelf; but Charles Powell of *Caſtlemadock*, Eſq a gentleman of great curioſity and learning, who lives on that ſide of the country, and has examined it with the greateſt attention, was ſo obl ging as to inform me by a letter, that he cannot trace the leaſt appearance of a Roman work there. As to the remains of an intrenchment on a riſing ground not far from that place, he ſays, they are evidently Britiſh; and I obſerved other veſtiges of Britiſh antiquity a few miles diſtant, in this ſame vale of *Ithon*, in my road from *Brecknock* by *Llanvihangle Abergwaſſin* into Cardiganſhire. They are two very large ſtones, eight or nine feet high, and about four feet wide, of an irregular form, ſtanding nearly a furlong diſtant from each other in ſome low grounds, a mile South-Eaſt of *Llanworthid* wells. Hence there ſeems to be very little foundation for placing the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy, either at Buahlt or *Kaereu*, as Mr. Horſley [*i*] juſtly obſerves. Near the river *Ithon* is a ſpot, about a mile and a half diſtant South-Weſt from *Llandrindod* wells in Radnorſhire, and not much out of the road from thence to Buahlt, which ſeemed to me to have really the appearance of a Roman ſtation, and may very probably have been the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy. There is the aera of a camp very plain, as well as the foundations of a wall which appears to

[*b*] Biſhop Gibſon's edit. of Camden's Britannia, vol. II.
[*i*] Britannia Romana, B. III. chap. i. pag. 323.

have

have been built of ſtones, in the ſame form and thickneſs with that of *The Gaer*, near *Brecknock*. Having been prevented by the badneſs of the weather from examining this place myſelf with due exactneſs, I entreated the favour of Mr. Powell (in whoſe neighbourhood it lies) to make further reſearches, and to oblige me with them. The following is an extract of a letter, dated 25th October laſt, which I received from him upon this occaſion.

" In September laſt, agreeable to your deſire, I viſited the re-
" mains of the old camp or ſtation near *Landrindod* wells in Rad-
" norſhire. It is in a farm called *Cwm*, in the pariſh of *Llanir*,
" about a mile and a half North-Weſt of *Llandrindod*, and on the
" Weſt ſide of the river *Ithon*. By its ſituation on the banks of
" the river, by the form of it (which is a perfect ſquare), and by
" the remains of a very thick ſtone wall which bounds this ſquare,
" it ſeems to be indiſputably Roman. The area within is a flat
" or plain of about four acres, each ſide within the walls meaſur-
" ing about 432 feet. The walls, which are now a heap of rub-
" biſh, overrun with buſhes and briars, appear to have been built
" with ſtone, and the foundation meaſures about eight feet in
" thickneſs; a foſs alſo without the wall meaſures about ten or
" twelve feet. Parallel to the North and Weſt ſides, but not
" quite the length of either, and about twenty yards from the
" foſs, there are the remains of another wall and ditch, ſeemingly
" a kind of outwork to this ſide, which is the moſt acceſſible;
" the river *Ithon*, and a kind of gully or hollow naturally defend-
" ing the others."

FROM this account of the actual remains of Roman antiquities in and near Brecknockſhire, we ſhall be the leſs ſurpriſed at finding ſome veſtiges of that people even in the cuſtoms of the country. Dr. Kennet [*k*], ſpeaking of the Roman cuſtoms in particular, ſays, he never ſaw the ſport called *Quintain* practiſed in any part

[*k*] Parochial Antiquities in Hiſt. of Alcheſter and Burceſter, chap. iv.

of the country but where Roman ways did run, or where Roman garriſons had been placed. This ſport is ſtill practiſed at weddings among the better ſort of freeholders in Brecknockſhire; and as it differs a little from that of other countries, it may not be amiſs to deſcribe the manner of it here. On the morning of the nuptials, the bridegroom, attended by a large company of his relations and friends on horſeback, goes to fetch his bride at her father's houſe, and thence eſcorts her to church, accompanied by another party of her relations and friends. After the ceremony is over, on their way home to the bridegroom's, a ſpot is choſen near the road ſide, where a few flat planks about ſix feet high are erected ſide by ſide. Long thick ſticks are then diſtributed to each of the young men who are inclined to enliſt in the ſport. They graſp theſe ſticks near the middle, reſting one end of it under the arm; and thus they ride full ſpeed towards the planks, ſtriking the ſtick againſt them with the utmoſt force in order to break it, where the diverſion ends. We know not preciſely how the Romans practiſed the *Quintain*, but it is ſuppoſed to have obtained that name from *Quintus*, becauſe it was repeated every fifth year among the Olympic games. It is ſtill practiſed in many places both in France and other countries [*l*], and, in all probability, nearly in the ſame manner, if one may judge from Regnier's metaphorical uſe of the word *Quintaine* in the famous 13th Satire, intitled, "La Macette," where, ſpeaking of the heroine of his piece, he ſays:

"Laſſe enfin de ſervir au peuple de quintaine."

Plot [*m*], who likewiſe conſiders it of Roman origin, deſcribes the manner of it in Oxfordſhire, which exactly correſponds with the account which Sir Henry Spelman [*n*] gives, who was an

[*l*] Girald. Cambrenſ. "De Rebus a ſe geſtis," par. ii. cap. 4. Du Freſne, Gloſſ. in verbo.

[*m*] Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, chap. x. ſect. 22. 53.

[*n*] Gloſſary voc. QUINTAN.

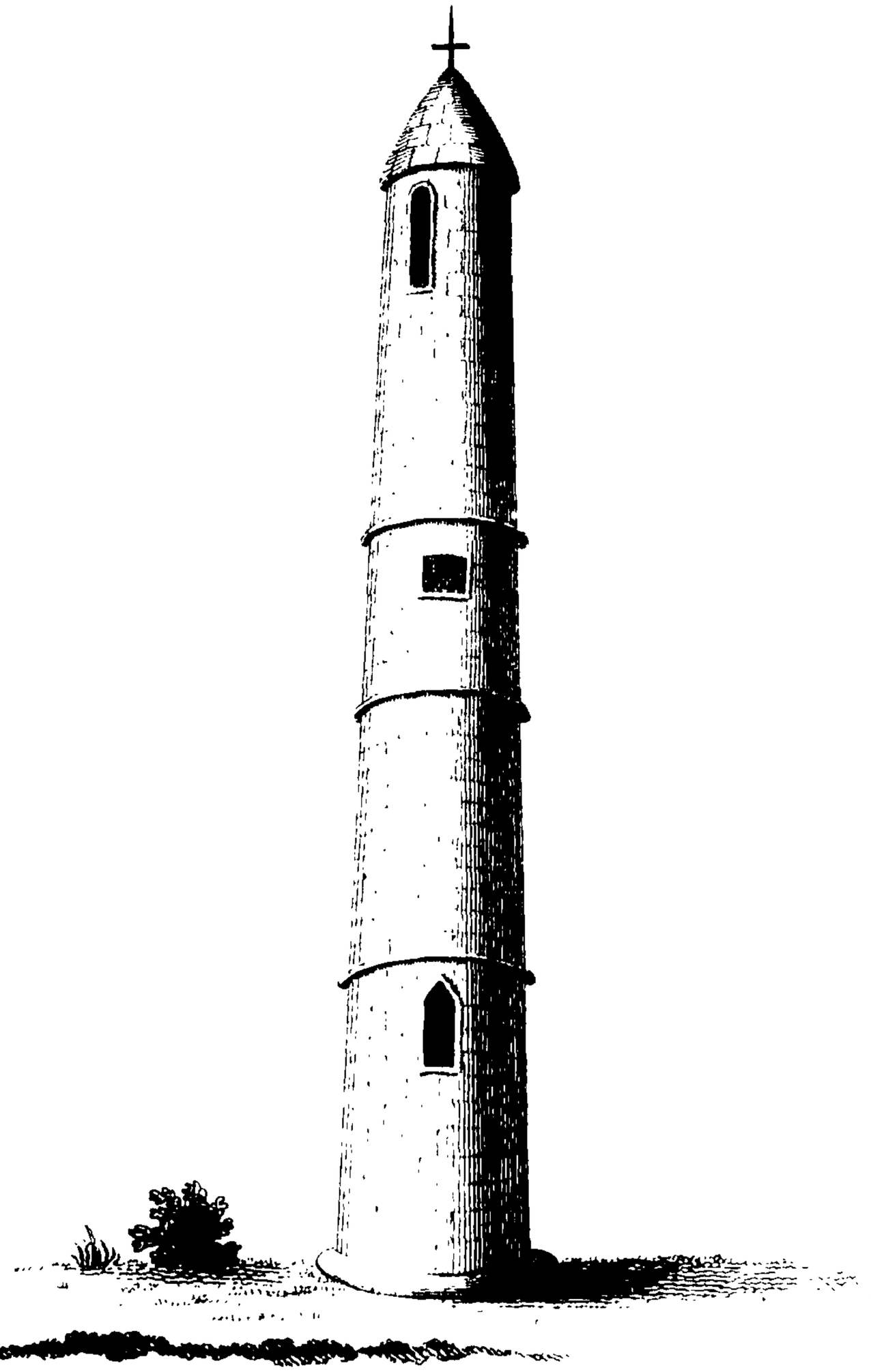
eye-witneſs. It is ſtill practiſed, though differently, about Caermarthen (the ancient *Maridunum* of the Romans), ſo that Dr. Kennet's obſervation may be eſteemed in general true. Since, therefore, we trace the footſteps of the Romans in this ſport, the prevalence of it in Brecknockſhire, where we have other evident marks of them, ſeems a circumſtance not unworthy notice.

HAVING nothing further to obſerve relative to the Romans in Brecknockſhire, give me leave, by way of ſupplement, to add ſome account of another remain I met with in *Landevailag* churchyard, two miles North of Brecknock in the road to Buahlt. It is a flat monumental ſtone, four inches thick, ſeven feet ten inches long, and about fifteen inches wide in the middle, being contracted nearly an inch towards the top and the bottom, where likewiſe it appears to have been broken. This ſtone was, I preſume, originally ſepulchral, but at preſent it ſerves to cover a low wall contiguous to the outſide of the South wall of the church. Upon the upper part is carved, in very low relief, a rude unpoliſhed figure, repreſenting, perhaps, ſome king, or military chief, arrayed with a ſort of tunic, and holding a ſceptre, ſword, or other inſtrument in each hand. Over his head is a croſs; and under his feet an inſcription; the characters of which are remarkably plain, excluſive of their being a little disfigured by a fracture in the ſtone. What is really the meaning or even the language of this inſcription is not eaſy to determine, as the laſt letter appears reverſed, and ſome of the others are different from any I can find in the Britiſh characters. They continue very legible, as may be obſerved from the exact copy of them in the engraving here given of this ſtone [*o*], which I am induced to eſteem a remain of Daniſh antiquity, from its perfect reſemblance to many others allowed to be ſo. The whole (except a ſmall fragment broken on one ſide) is in exceeding good preſervation, although it was probably the workmanſhip of the fifth or ſixth century. Mr. Jones of the Exchequer was pleaſed to apprize me of the following in-

[*o*] Plate IX. fig. 3.

ſcription

The Round Tower at Ardmore in Ireland.



ſcription on a monumental ſtone in the porch of the ſame church, CATVC, which may perhaps refer to Cadoc, who was a king and martyr in Brecknockſhire, and died in the year 492.

SUCH are the obſervations I have the honour of laying before the learned Members of this Society; and if thought worthy of their approbation, the trouble which attended the collecting them will be amply compenſated.

LIII. *Obſervations on the Round Towers in* Ireland: *By Mr.* Peter Collinſon.

Read December 7, 1763.

IN the pariſh of Ardmore, and county of Waterford, in Ireland, there is a round tower[*a*] built of hewn ſtone, upwards of one hundred feet high, and forty-five feet in circumference at the baſe; the door is fifteen feet from the ground; the roof is pyramidal, being of ſtone, very well cut, and cloſely joined together, and well plaiſtered within ſide, from top to bottom, as clean and white as if newly done. The whole fabric is divided into four unequal beltings or ſtories, with a window to each; having four windows in the upper ſtory. On the top is a kind of croſs.

SIR James Ware mentions a round tower which ſtood near the cathedral of Cork, and another near the church at Brigonne; but theſe no longer remain.

THERE is one, however, now ſtanding at Cloyne; and another, much more remarkable, near the old ruined church at Kinnith. As this laſt is different from all others, it may deſerve a deſcription. It is ſeventy feet in height; conſiſting of ſix ſtories, each eleven feet nine inches high. The firſt ſtory is a regular hexagon, each ſide

[*a*] Plate X.

being ten feet four inches. From this ſtory to the top, it is quite round, all built of hewn ſtone; it ſtands one hundred and twenty four feet from the Weſt end of the church. An ancient MS. containing ſome annals mentions, that this tower at Kennith was built about the year 1015.

In the County of Down,

ARE two round towers now ſtanding; that at Drumboe, twenty four feet diſtant from the North-Weſt door of the church, is thirty-five feet high, and forty-ſeven feet in circumference. The other at Down Patrick ſtands forty feet from the old cathedral: it is ſixty-ſix feet high, the walls are three feet thick, and its diameter, meaſured on the inſide, is eight feet.

In the County of KERRY,

STILL remain two ancient eccleſiaſtical round towers; one oppoſite the Weſt end of the cathedral, near an hundred feet high, built moſtly of a dark kind of marble; the door faces the Weſt entrance of the church. Another round tower is now ſtanding near the ruins of the cathedral at Rattoo.

GENERAL REMARKS.

THE round towers are ſpread through divers parts of Ireland; they differ from each other in degrees of height, ſome thirty-ſeven feet, others fifty and more; that of Kildare is one hundred and thirty-two feet high; and that at Kilkenny is little leſs.

THEIR outward circuit at the baſe rarely exceeds forty-two feet; walls three feet thick; diameter within ſeldom more than eight feet; they gradually diminiſh from the bottom to the top, which is covered with a ſtone roof. Within ſide are abutments to reſt the timbers upon, for the ſeveral floors or ſtages, to which they aſcended by ladders; every ſtory had a little window; the upper four windows looking different ways. The door for entrance from eight to twelve and to fifteen feet from the ground, without ſteps or ſtairs.

VARIOUS

VARIOUS and uncertain have been the conjectures of the time of building, and uſe of the tall round ſlender Iriſh towers. The application of their ſcanty dimenſions hath puzzled our modern antiquaries.

SOME imagine them to have been places of ſecurity from dangers of an enemy; others, that they were watch-towers; ſome took them for beacons: Sir Thomas Molyneux concluded they were built for belfries, as they were always near the church; but no bells of any ſize could hang in them. Some, plauſibly enough, fixed them for habitations of a ſet of Anachorets, called *Stelites*, from their living on pillars. Thus their real uſe lay in the dark; ſo great is their antiquity, and ſo long hath their original purpoſe been forgot!

UNTIL about the year 1750, Mr. Charles Smith, author of "The ancient and preſent State of the Counties of Down, Water-"ford, Kerry, and Cork," who with great induſtry was ſearching ancient records for materials for thoſe hiſtories, met with ſome ancient MSS. which clear up this long-diſputed ſubject; and from theſe hiſtories all the above abſtracts are taken.

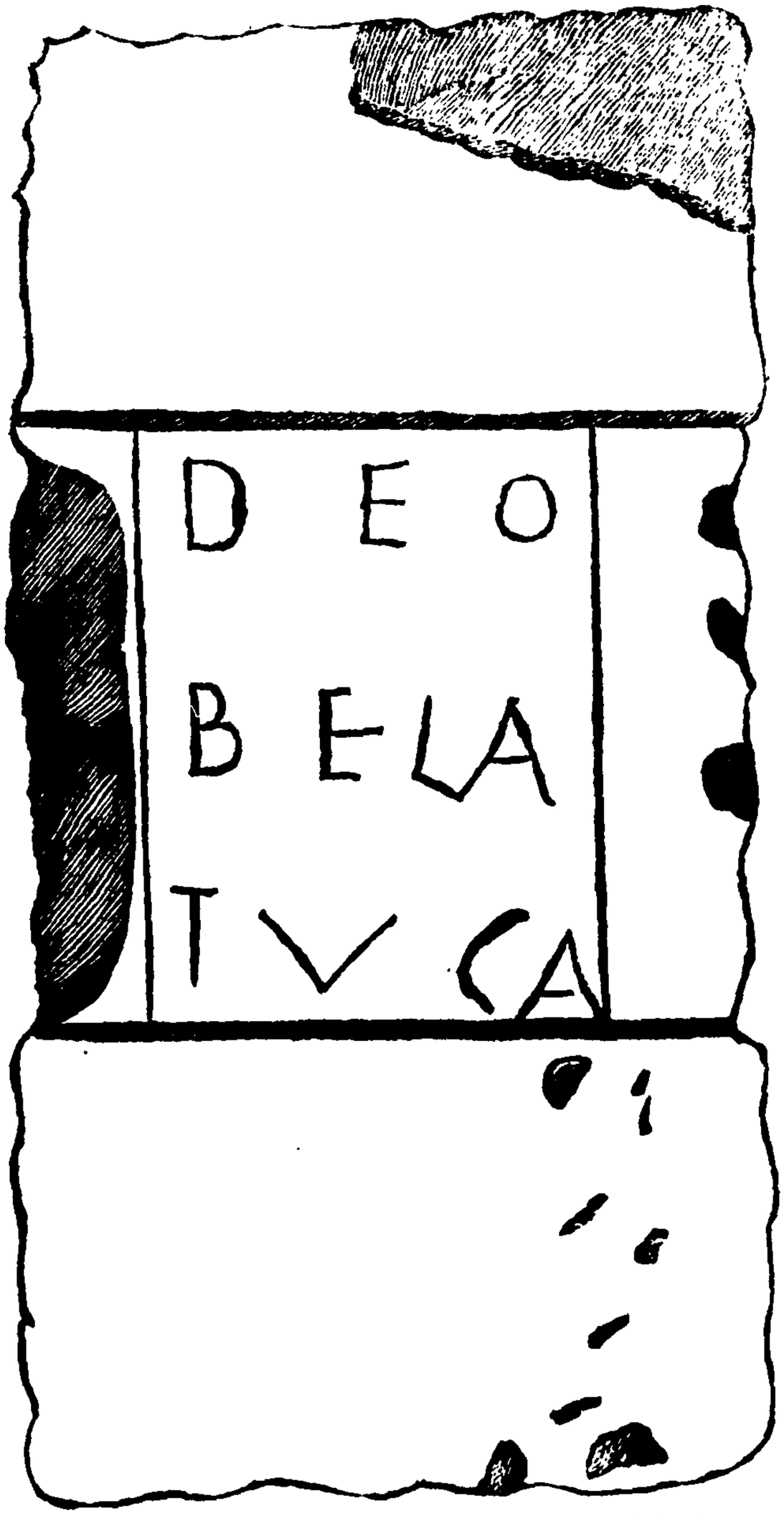
THESE eccleſiaſtical round towers were built in the darkeſt times of ſuperſtition, about anno 900 or 1000.

The ancient Iriſh MSS. relate, that theſe towers were uſed for impriſoning penitents; ſome other writers name them *Incluſoria*, et *arcti incluſorii Ergaſtula*, the priſons of narrow incloſures; particularly the MS. of the life of Dunchad o Braoin, of whom it is ſaid, that he betook himſelf into ſuch a priſon, wherein he died anno 987.

THESE MSS. add, that theſe penitents were placed in the uppermoſt ſtory of the tower; where having made probation, or done penance, ſuch a limited time, according to the heinouſneſs of their crimes, they then were permitted to deſcend to the next floor; and ſo on by degrees, until they came to the door, which always faced the entrance of the church, where they ſtood to receive abſolution from the Clergy, and the bleſſings of the People,

LIV. *Explanation of an Inſcription on a* Roman *Altar found at* Brough on the Sands, *in* Cumberland: *By the late Biſhop* Lyttelton.

Read December 27, 1766.



This ſketch of the altar is in proportion to the original as 3 to 5.

GENTLEMEN,

THE drawing, or rather ſketch, I now lay before you, was made from a Roman altar lately dug up in the vicar's garden at Brough on the Sands in Cumberland, which is ſuppoſed to have been the *Axelodunum* of the Notitia, but certainly was a Roman ſtation, cloſe adjoining on Severus's wall.

IT is of a coarſe red ſtone, adorned only with plain mouldings, as repreſented in the ſketch. The inſcription is complete, but the letters very rude and meanly cut, though very legible, conſiſting but of two words, viz.

D E O
B E L A
T V C A.

which certainly ſtands for Belatucadro, and is, I think, the fifth inſcription which has been diſcovered in Great Britain addreſſed to this *Local Deity*, for ſuch I am inclined to pronounce it with Camden[*a*] and Gale[*b*]; or at leaſt another name for Apollo, with Dr. Ward[*c*], and not a *cognomen* of Mars, or another appellation of him as has been conjectured.

THE firſt, in point of time, that has been diſcovered, was inſcribed on an altar dug up at Ellenbourgh in Cumberland, and ſeen by Mr. Camden there, though now loſt; it runs thus:

B E L A T V
C A D R O
I V L. C I
V I L I S
O P T.
V. S L M [*d*].

[*a*] Gibſon's edition of the Britannia (1722), pag. 101.
[*b*] Gale's notes on Antonine's Itin. pag. 32.
[*c*] Horſley's Brit. Romana, pag. 261.
[*d*] Here you will obſerve, the word *Belatucadro* ſtands ſingly, without the adjunct *deo*.

THE

THE ſecond we have in the additions to the Britannia Rom. an altar ſaid by Horſley to be now loſt, though it was remaining at Netherby, a famous ſtation in Cumberland (where it was dug up) not many years ſince; and is as follows:

DEO MARTI
BELATVCADRO
RO. VR, &c.

HERE, ſays Mr. Horſley, it is juſtly remarked, that this inſcription argues *Mars* et *Belatucader* to be the ſame deity [*e*]; but it is more juſtly ſuppoſed by Dr. Ward, that the conjunctive *et* between *Marti* and *Belatucadro* was omitted by the tranſcribers [*f*], and conſequently they were two diſtinct deities.

THE third was an altar found alſo in this county near Scaleby Caſtle, and thus inſcribed:

DEO. S. BE
LATVCA
ROAV. DO.
. . VLLINVS
V. S.

MR. Horſley, in his remarks upon this inſcription, declares his opinion very ſtrongly, that Belatucader was a *local deity* [*g*]; though afterwards, when he came to ſpeak of the Netherby altar above-mentioned, inſcribed *deo Marti Belatucadro*, forgetting what he had urged a few pages before of Belatucader being a local deity, he concurs with the author of the additions to Camden, in pronouncing Belatucader a *cognomen* only of the god Mars [*h*].

DR. Ward litigates this notion very ably, and obſerves from Selden and Voſſius, that Belatucader was the ſame as Belenus or

[*e*] Ibid. pag. 271.
[*f*] Ibid. pag. 261.
[*g*] Ibid. pag. 261.
[*h*] Ibid. pag. 271.

Βέλεν

Βέλις, whom both Herodian and Capitolinus affirm to be Apollo, who, it appears from Auſonius, was worſhipped by the Druids. Dr. Ward adds, "I can't but incline to think, that this deity was "Apollo rather than Mars, both from the affinity of this name "with other names of Apollo, and becauſe I don't find the epi-"thet *ſanctus* ever given to Mars, and here the inſcription runs, "Deo ſancto Belatucadro."

THE fourth was inſcribed alſo upon an altar found at Whelp-Caſtle, a famous Roman ſtation in Kirkby Thore, Weſtmorland, and runs thus:

DEO BELATVCAD
RO. LIB. VOTV
M FECIT
IOLVS

THIS laſt correſponds exactly with mine, being addreſſed ſimply to the god Belatucader (deo Belatucadro); now, as four out of five inſcriptions, wherein Belatucader occurs, have no adjunct but *deo*, Dr. Ward's conjecture, that the *et* in the Netherby inſcription has been omitted by the tranſcriber, is ſtrongly confirmed, and conſequently Belatucader was not a cognomen of Mars, but either a local deity worſhipped by the Romaniſed Britains in this part of the province, or another name for Apollo.

CHA. CARLISLE.

LV. *A Letter from the Reverend Dr.* James Garden, *Profeſſor of Theology in the* King's College *at* Aberdeen, *to* John Aubrey, *Eſq. on the circular Stone Monuments in* Scotland.

Read December 4, 1766.

HONOURED SIR,

YOURS, dated at London, April 9th, 1692, came to my hands about ten days after; ſince that time, I have been uſing my beſt endeavours for obtaining a ſatisfactory anſwer to your queries: if that which I now ſend you be not ſuch as I deſired, and, it may be, you expected, it is none of my fault: for I not only viſited ſundry of thoſe antiquities (to the number of ſix or ſeven), concerning which you deſire to be informed; but alſo employed the aſſiſtance of my friends, whereof ſome were going from this place to other parts of the country, and others live at a diſtance. I have been waiting all this time for an account of their diligence; and albeit I have not heard as yet from all thoſe perſons to whom I wrote and ſpoke for information, yet I thought it not fit to delay the giving you a return any longer, leſt you ſhould apprehend, either that your letter had miſcarried, or that I had neglected the contents of it.

WHAT the lord Yeſter and Sir Robert Morray told you long ago is true, viz. that in the North parts of this kingdom, many monuments of the nature and faſhion deſcribed by you are yet extant. They conſiſt of tall big unpoliſhed ſtones, ſet up on end, and placed circular, not contiguous together, but at ſome diſtances. The obſcurer ſort (which are the more numerous) have but one circle of ſtones ſtanding at equal diſtances; others, towards

wards the South or South-Eaſt, have a large broad ſtone ſtanding on edge, which fills up the whole ſpace betwixt two of thoſe ſtones that ſtand on end, and is called by the vulgar the altar ſtone: a third ſort, more remarkable than any of the former (beſides all that I have already mentioned) have another circle of ſmaller ſtones ſtanding within the circle of the great ſtones. The area of the three ſorts is commonly (not always) filled with ſtones of ſundry ſizes, confuſedly caſt together in an heap [*a*].

Two of the largeſt and moſt remarkable of theſe monuments that ever I ſaw, are yet to be ſeen at a place called Auchincorthie, in the ſhire of Mernes, five miles diſtant from Aberdeen. One of which has two circles of ſtones; whereof the exterior circle conſiſts of thirteen great ſtones (beſides two that are fallen, and the broad ſtone towards the South) about three yards high above ground, and ſeven or eight paces diſtant one from

[*a*] J. G. Keyſler, in his "Antiquitates ſelectae Septentr. et Celt." pag. 11, after ſome account of Stone-henge (which he takes to be the work of the Anglo-Saxons) and other the like monuments, adds, "Superſunt in ipſa Anglia complura "ejuſmodi monumenta, inter quae eminent vaſta ſaxa, in orbem diſpoſita, in Oxo-"nienſi comitatu, quae *Rollerick-ſtones* vulgus appellat. Vide Plot's Nat. Hiſt. "Oxf. cap. 10. De iis quae in Devonia haud procul Exonia exſtant, *Mighty ſtones* "dicta. Vide Speed. Quinque millibus paſſuum a Briſtolio, meridiem verſus, "et uno milliari Anglico a Pensfordia, qua ſpectat ad occidentem ſolem, rudera "reſtant duorum ejuſmodi operum, quorum alterum una lapidum corona, alte-"rum tribus conſtitiſſe videtur. Illud, ſi reliquorum dimenſionem ſequamur, 32 "eximiae magnitudinis lapides habuit, quorum non niſi 13 ſuperſtites, in terram "omnes dejecti aut proni, exceptis tribus. Centum ulnis Brunſvicenſibus (60 fere "Anglicis Yards) ab iis conſpiciuntur majores duo lapides, quos recentiores "quidam ſcriptores perperam nominant *The King and Queen ſtolen*, regis reginae-"que ſedes; incolae appellant *The Parſon and Clerk*, fabulantes choream Die Do-"minica ſaltantium, una cum ſacerdote et fidicinibus in lapides fuiſſe verſam. "Nonnulla hujuſmodi monumenta viſuntur etiam in Orcadibus inſulis. De Sco-"ticis conferri debent quae Hector Boethius habet in Hiſt. Scot. De ingentibus "et rudibus fixis, quae haud longe a Naaſa Hiberniae, in agro Kildarienſi et alibi "cernuntur, lege Ware, Antiq. Hibern. cap. xxiv. pag. 103. et ſeq." T. M.

another; the diameter being twenty-four large paces. The interior circle is about three paces diſtant from the other, and the ſtones thereof three feet high above ground. Towards the Eaſt from this monument, at twenty-ſix paces diſtance, there is a big ſtone faſt in the ground, and level with it, in which there is a cavity, partly natural and partly artificial, that will contain, as I gueſs, no leſs than a Scotch gallon of water, and may be ſuppoſed to have ſerved for waſhing the prieſts, ſacrifices, and other things eſteemed ſacred among the heathens. The other monument (which is full as large, if not larger than that which I have already deſcribed, and diſtant from it about a bow-ſhot of ground) conſiſts of three circles, having the ſame common center. The ſtones of the greateſt circle are about three yards, and thoſe of the two leſſer circles three feet high above ground, the innermoſt circle three paces diameter, and the ſtones ſtanding cloſe together.

One of the ſtones of the largeſt circle, on the Eaſt ſide of the monument, hath upon the top of it (which is but narrow, and longer one way than the other) a hollowneſs about three inches deep, in the bottom whereof is cut out a trough, one inch deep, and two inches broad (with another ſhort one croſſing it) that runs along the whole length of the cavity, and down by the ſide of the ſtone a good way, ſo that whatſoever liquor is poured into the cavity upon the top of the ſtone, doth preſently run down the ſide of it by this trough; and it would ſeem, that upon this ſtone they poured forth their *libamina* or liquid ſacrifices.

There is alſo another ſtone in the ſame circle, and upon the ſame ſide of the monument (ſtanding neareſt to the broad ſtone that ſtands on edge, and looks toward the South), which hath a cavity in the upper end of it. It is conſiderably lower on one ſide, and will contain about one Engliſh pint. At the firſt ſight it ſeemed to me to have been made for burning a lamp; but when I conſidered that it was *ſub dio*, I found it could not be for that

uſe: afterwards, obſerving it more narrowly, I perceived that it was cut after the faſhion of the cavity in the other ſtone already deſcribed, albeit not ſo clearly and diſtinctly; and that there is a natural fiſſure in the ſtone, by which all the liquor poured into the cavity runs out of it down by the ſide of the ſtone to the ground.

THE general tradition throughout this kingdom concerning this kind of monument is, that they were places of worſhip and ſacrifice in heathen times. Few of them have particular names. In this part of the country they are commonly called *ſtanding ſtones*; and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the Iriſh tongue is ſpoken, they call them *caer*, which ſignifies a throne, an oracle, or a place of addreſs, as I am informed by a judicious perſon here who underſtands that language, and was lately in thoſe parts, where, he ſays, they have ſuch a ſuperſtitious veneration for thoſe monuments, that they will not meddle with any of their ſtones, or apply them to another uſe; and being lately at Auchincorthie, I was told, that a poor man who lives there, having taken away a ſtone from one of the neighbouring monuments above deſcribed, and put it into his hearth, was, by his own relation, troubled with a deal of noiſe and din about his houſe, in the night time, until he carried back the ſtone unto the place where he found it.

SOME of them are called *chapels*: for inſtance, there is a place in the ſhire of Aberdeen, and pariſh of Elton, called *Tochell* (i. e. below the chapel) from one of theſe monuments that ſtands near by on a higher ground. Another place in the ſhire of Bamff, and pariſh of Aberlowr, is called *Leachell Beandich*, which, as my informer told me, is as much as the bleſſed (chapel), from another of theſe monuments, which lately ſtood there in a corn field, and is now demoliſhed. I myſelf, with others in company, occaſionally paſſing by one of theſe monuments, about five miles diſtant from Aberdeen, in the pariſh of Peter Culter, we ſent one

of

of our number to the neareſt houſes to enquire the name of it, and the people there told him it was called the *Old Chapel.* I was likewiſe told by an ingenious gentleman, who lives at a place called Troup, in the ſhire of Bamff, and pariſh of Gamrie, that not far from his houſe there is a den called the Chapel Den, from one of thoſe monuments which is near by.

OTHERS are called *temples* [*b*]. In the pariſh of Strathaven, within fourteen miles of Aberdeen, there is a place called Temple-town, from two or three of this kind of monuments that ſtand upon the bounds of it. And theſe two, whereof I have given you a particular deſcription, are called by the people that live near by, *Law Stones* (for what reaſon I know not [*c*]) and Temple Stones. They have a tradition, that the Pagan prieſts of old dwelt in that place (Auchincorthie); and there are yet to be ſeen, at a little diſtance from one of the monuments ſtanding there, the foundations of an old houſe, which is ſaid to have been their Teind Barn. They report, likewiſe, that the prieſts cauſed earth to be brought from other adjacent places, upon peoples backs, to Auchincorthie, for making the ſoil thereof deeper, which is given for the reaſon why this parcel of land, though ſurrounded with heath and moſs on all ſides, is better and more fertile than other places thereabouts.

ALL theſe names (except the firſt) confirm the general tradition concerning theſe monuments, that they were places of worſhip; and ſome of them, as that of temple and temple ſtones,

[*b*] In Wiltſhire, in the pariſh of Winterbourne, in the tithing of Ricardſon, is a fair Down called Temple Down, which is in the country of thoſe Temples I write of. Quere, if not in Dorſet? C. L. I find no ſuch monument placed in Wiltſhire in Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica, ſo that he probably here refers to that in Winterbourne Abbas pariſh in Dorſet. See Hutchins I. 303. R. G.

Not far from Marlborough, is a village called Preſholt, perhaps it might be Prieſts Holt (i. e.) Prieſts Wood. Mr. Aubrey.

[*c*] From their (viz. barrows, heaps of ſtones, &c.) being intended for ſepulchres, they are called *Lows* in Staffordſhire, and *Lawes* in Ireland. Antiq. Corn. firſt edit. pag. 200.

declare,

declare, that they have not been erected by Chriſtians, or for their uſe, which their ſtructure alſo doth ſufficiently demonſtrate beſide.

ALBEIT, from the general tradition, that theſe monuments were places of Pagan worſhip, and the hiſtorical knowledge we have that the ſuperſtition of the Druids did take place in Britain, we rationally collect, that theſe monuments have been temples of the Druids; yet I have found nothing hitherto, either in the names of theſe monuments, or the tradition that goes about them, which doth particularly relate to the Druids, or point them out; unleſs theſe two following inſtances will amount to any thing.

THE firſt is of a monument of this kind in the ſhire of Bamff, and pariſh of Aberdeen, which, as a gentleman that lives near by it doth inform me, is called *Cairneduin*, or *Cairnedewin*. Now *cairne* in our language doth ſignify an heap of ſtones; and whether it is put here for *caer*, or that this kind of monuments are called *cairnes*, from the heaps of ſtones which are uſually to be found within them, I cannot ſay; but that which I take notice of is, that it may be, the name of this monument formerly has been Caer, or Cairndrewin, and that the letter *r* has been left out in the pronunciation afterwards. Yet nothing can be affirmed in this matter, becauſe the name of this monument is not to be found in any old writing; and we have no other rules to direct us about it beſides the pronunciation of the vulgar.

ANOTHER inſtance which I ſhall mention is, of a parcel of land, ſix miles diſtant from Aberdeen, and belonging to the emoluments of my office, which is commonly called *Cairnetradban*, a name whereof I never could underſtand the meaning, until that, ſince I received your letter, peruſing the conveyances of this land, I find, that in the firſt of them, which is not above threeſcore and ten years old, it is called *Cairndraidlane*, and *Cairnedraidland*. Now, by the preceding inſtance it appears, that theſe monuments are ſometimes called Cairnes; and I am prone to believe, that the

true

true name of this land is *Cairnedruidland*, and that it has been ſo denominated, not from any of thoſe monuments ſtanding within the bounds (for I find only one of them, and that not very remarkable, ſtanding upon the borders of it); but rather, becauſe it may have been a part of the revenue which appertained of old to the Druids and their temples; if we had the old evidences (which are wanting), it may be, the matter would be yet clearer [*d*].

I HAVE only one thing more to add, which was written to me a few days ſince from the country, viz. that ſome perſons, who are yet alive, declare, that many years ſince, they did ſee aſhes of ſome burnt matter digged out of the bottom of a little circle, ſet about with ſtones ſtanding cloſe together, in the center of one of thoſe monuments which is yet ſtanding near the church of Keig, in the ſhire of Aberdeen.

IN caſe any of theſe monuments ſhall, upon enquiry, be found in France (where you know the Druids were in no leſs credit and reputation than in Britain), it would greatly contribute to the confirming your opinion about them.

THUS, Sir, I have given you a tedious account of ſuch things, relating to theſe antiquities, as have come to my knowledge, which I fear will contribute little to your purpoſe. In caſe any thing that is conſiderable ſhall be communicated to me hereafter, by any of thoſe perſons to whom I have either ſpoken or written

[*d*] The very ingenious author of *Topographical Anecdotes*, under the article *Inverneſs-ſhire*, p. 647, informs us, that Mr. Gordon in his *Itin. Septentr.* p. 166. pl. LXV. has given a particular deſcription and view of two of the four circular buildings mentioned by Buchanan, lib. i. and iv. as in *Roſs*, now in this ſhire, in the vale of *Glenbeg*. Martin mentions ſeveral ſuch in Lewis Iſle. Dr. Stukeley had an unpubliſhed plate of that which Gordon calls Caſtle *Tellve*, and he, the *Giant's Caſtle*. He makes them Druidical temples, and his ſketch of the vale exhibits a circle of ſtones with an avenue at the head of a little river. He ſays, Captain Douglas told him there were vaſt numbers of ſtones like Stonehenge, with avenues of ſtones all over Scotland. T. M.

for

for information, I will not fail to acquaint you; and if my pains can be any further uſeful to you, you may freely employ

Your friend,

and humble ſervant,

Old Aberdeen, June 15, 1792.

JAMES GARDEN.

LVI. *A Letter to* Daniel Wray, *Eſq; on the Introduction, Progreſs, State, and Condition, of the Vine in* Britain: *By the Rev.* Samuel Pegge.

Read January 12, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

THE culture of the vine in England having been lately under contemplation [*a*]; I thought it might be worth while, and by no means mal à propos, to examine minutely into the cultivation of it more antiently amongſt us; and I here beg leave to preſent you with the reſult of my enquiries, as a teſtimony of that inviolable regard I have ſo long entertained for your undeſerved friendſhip.

IN that very particular deſcription which Julius Caeſar has given us of this iſland in his 5th Book, there is no mention made of the vine; for though he ſays, "materia cujuſque generis, ut "in Gallia eſt; praeter fagum atque abietem;" though Pliny

[*a*] Muſeum Ruſticum.

reckons the vine to be a tree, as do others indeed, both Greeks and Latins [*b*]; and though there were undoubtedly many vines in Gaul, as may be noted hereafter, yet the vine was not commonly eſteemed a timber-tree, which is what is uſually meant by the word *materia*. I accordingly obſerve, that the great naturaliſt Pliny has nothing concerning this tree as a native of Britain, or as there flouriſhing, in that large account of it which he has inſerted in his XIVth Book. And from hence I think one may ſafely conclude, that the vine did not grow in Britain, either when Caeſar or when Pliny wrote. And, indeed, Cornelius Tacitus, writing of the times when Julius Agricola commanded here, expreſsly denies us the vine, "Solum," ſays he, "praeter oleam vitemque, et caetera calidioribus terris oriri ſueta, "patiens frugum foecundum [*c*]."

Now, if there were no vines here in Agricola's time, it is not likely there ſhould be any for many years after; for though there were vines in Gaul [*d*], and it may ſeem a very obvious matter that they ſhould be brought hither from Aquitain, or other parts of that province, yet the laws of the empire would not ſuffer it; for, according to my apprehenſion of things, where there were no vineyards already, the provincials were not permitted to plant them. Domitian, in his time, prohibited by an edict the making of any new vineyards even in Italy; and ordered that in the provinces the vineyards ſhould be diſplanted, leaving not above half the quantity at moſt in any place [*e*]; and from thenceforward none could plant vineyards but with the permiſſion of the Emperors [*f*]. The reaſon of this prohibition was the too great plenty of wine, and the ſcarcity of corn; and that the ſedulous cultivation of the

[*b*] Horat. I. Od. XVIII. and Dacier ad loc.
[*c*] Tacitus, Vit. Agric. cap. xii.
[*d*] Solinus, cap. xxiv. and Caſaub. ad Suet. Domit. cap. vii.
[*e*] Suet. Domit. cap. vii. ver. 14.
[*f*] Caſaub. ad Suet. Daceria ad Eutrop. IX. cap. xvii. et ad Aur. Victor. de Caeſar. cap. xxxvii.

former

former cauſed agriculture to be neglected; however, there was another cauſe in reſpect of the provinces, and which conſequently would affect Britain, to wit, that drunkenneſs there oftentimes occaſioned ſeditions [*g*]. There was, however, a relaxation of this edict as to Aſia [*h*]; and as to the edict in general, the Emperor did not rigorouſly exact the obſervation of it; for, ſays Suetonius, in reſpect of this Emperor, "Quare pavidus ſemper atque "anxius, minimis etiam ſuſpicionibus praeter modum commo- "vebatur: ut edicti de excidendis vineis propoſiti gratiam facere "non alia magis re compulſus credatur, quam quod ſparſi libelli "cum his verſibus erant,

"Κῆν μὲ φάϱῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καϱποφοϱήσω,
"Ὅσον ἐπισπεῖσαι Καίσαϱι θυμλύω."

In regard to Britain, the Romans, at the time of the edict, were in peaceable and quiet poſſeſſion of only a ſmall part of the iſland; inſomuch that they had not time to plant many vines here; but afterwards, when ſuch an edict was in being, one cannot ſuppoſe the provincials here would ever think of cultivating them.

THIS then was the ſtate of things till the reign of the Emperor Probus, who acceded A. D. 276, and reigned about ſix years. It is not to be ſuppoſed, however, that the provinces till this time were any of them without wine, or that the Romans there ſubſiſted without the uſe of it; on the contrary, if that *ſeria*, or jar, deſcribed by Dr. Muſgrave [*i*], was a wine veſſel, as he conjectures [*k*], it is apparent, that this generous liquor was not wanting even in Britain, for the veſſel was found among the

[*g*] Caſaub. and Pitiſc. ad Suet. This ſeems to be the ground of that piece of policy in Mohammed, who denied his diſciples the uſe of wine for this reaſon amongſt others. Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, pag. 106. ſeq.

[*h*] Caſaub. and Pitiſc. ad Suet.

[*i*] Muſgrave, I. pag. 192. IV. pag. 11.

[*k*] Idem, I. pag. 194. IV. pag. 11. 13.

Belgae, at the *Devizes*. Indeed, the Romans themſelves could not well live without wine [*l*], and no doubt they ſoon taught the provincials the uſe of it. Nay, we know not certainly that the Britons of theſe times had any other liquor but wine and milk [*m*], and both the Romans and the natives could eaſily be furniſhed with the former by importation. Dr. Muſgrave, therefore, ſeems to lay too much ſtreſs upon the diſcovery of this jar, when he infers from it [*n*], that the Romans who were reſident in the reign of Alexander Mammaeae, at the place where the veſſel was found, lived *delicately* and *luxurioufly*; for certainly the appearance of a ſingle veſſel, at a place where wine was an uſual beverage, cannot amount to ſo much as that, ſince it only ſhews that they had then ſome wine there.

To return to the Emperor Probus; he, in the latter part of his time, reſtored the privilege of the vineyard to moſt, if not all the provinces in the North and Weſt; and the cauſe of this indulgence I take to have been, that when Proculus and Bonoſus aſſumed the purple in oppoſition to him, all the Germans adhered ſtedfaſtly to his party; "Unum ſane ſciendum eſt, quod Ger-"mani omnes, quum ad auxilium eſſent rogati a Proculo, Probo "potius perſervire maluerunt, quam cum Bonoſo et Proculo "eſſe [*o*];" for, upon this it follows in the author, "Gallis om-"nibus et Hiſpanis ac Britannis [*p*] *hinc* permiſit, ut vites ha-"berent, vinumque conficerent [*q*]." Caſaubon, citing the paſ-

[*l*] Muſgrave, l. c.

[*m*] Caeſar, De B. G. Lib. v.

[*n*] Muſgrave, I. pag. 94. IV. pag. 11. 13.

[*o*] Vopiſcus, pag. 294. ed. Francof.

[*p*] The Annotator upon Rapin, I. pag. 21. obſerves, "Eutropius has it, Vi-"neas Gallos et Pannones (inſtead of Britannos) habere permiſit," l. ix. cap. xvii. by which he ſeems to inſinuate, that the copies of Vopiſcus may be here corrupted; but this is not probable, for, as we ſhall ſhew, the liberty of the vineyard was made very general indeed; how come the Spaniards otherwiſe to be included? The Palatine MS. of Vopiſcus, and Gruter read *Britannos*.

[*q*] Vopiſcus, ibid.

ſage

ſage in his commentary upon Suetonius [*r*], reads *hic* inſtead of *hinc*, contrary to the editions and Madam Dacier, who lays a ſtreſs on this word *hinc*, as we ſhall have occaſion to remark below. If this was not the reaſon of the indulgence, the Emperor probably did it to ingratiate himſelf with the people of the Northern and Weſtern parts, whom he ſaw to be ſo prone to revolt.

BUT, whatever was the cauſe, it was toward the latter end of his reign, and after the commotions raiſed by Proculus and Bonoſus were ſuppreſſed, that Probus permitted the provincials to have vines. This is the force of *hinc* above, as Madam Dacier has remarked [*s*], and as is very evident from the account given of this matter by Aurel. Victor, " namque ut ille [Hannibal] oleis " Africae pleraque, per legiones, quarum otium reipublicae atque " doctoribus (f. ductoribus, cum Schotto) ſuſpectum rebatur; " eodem modo hic [Probus] Galliam Pannoniaſque et Moeſarum " colles vinetis replevit: *poſtea ſane* quam barbarorum attritae " gentes ſunt, quae, noſtris principibus ſuorum ſcelere interfectis, " irruperant; ſimul caeſis, Saturnino per Orientem; Agrippinae " Bonoſo ab (ſic Schottus) exercitu [*t*]." So in his Epitome, cap. xxxvii. he relates the ſuppreſſion of Saturninus in the Eaſt, and of Proculus and Bonoſus at Agrippina, before he mentions this affair of the vines. I conceive, then, that it might be about A. D. 280, that licence for planting vineyards was granted to the provincials. The licence, it ſeems, was very general; for the Pannonii and the Moeſi, as well as the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Britons partook of it [*u*]. And he himſelf, making uſe of the hands and labour of the ſoldiers, planted mount Almus, or

[*r*] Ad Suet. Domit. cap. vii. But in Vopiſcus he explains it only *poſt haec*.
[*s*] Ad. Aur. Vict. Caeſ. cap. xxxvii.
[*t*] See Dacier ad loc.
[*u*] Aur. Vict. Caeſ. cap. xxxvii. Epitome, cap. xxxvii. Eutrop. ix. cap. xvii.

Alma,

Alma [*w*], near Sirmium, and mount Aureus in the upper Moeſia, with vines [*x*]; and then it follows in Eutropius, by a very general and comprehenſive expreſſion, " Et provincialibus co-" lendas (vineas) dedit."

THUS it may be ſuppoſed the Britons began to plant vines in this iſland ſoon after the year 280. And accordingly Bede, who finiſhed his hiſtory A. D. 731, writes expreſsly, in his deſcription of Britain, " Vineas etiam quibuſdam in locis germinant[*y*]"; which account is alſo inſerted from him in Ralph Higden's Polychronicon [*z*], and in Richard of Cirenceſter [*a*]. The acquieſcence of Ralph in this caſe is of weight, becauſe he well knew what he aſſented to, ſince, when he comes to Bede's aſſertion in reſpect of Ireland, he then flatly contradicts him, as will be ſeen below.

To obſerve this by the way, it was moſt probably in this interval, and during this ſcarcity of wine in the provinces, to wit, before the year 280, that the Gauls and Britons had recourſe to the making of other liquors equally inebriating. Hence Ammianus Marcellinus ſays of the Gauls, " Vini avidum genus, affectans " ad vini ſimilitudinem multiplices potus [*b*]."

IT is moſt natural to ſuppoſe, that the propagation of the vine would be firſt attempted in the Southern parts of the iſland, both on account of the climate's being there the warmeſt, and their proximity to Gaul, from whence, in all probability, the plants would be firſt brought. Thus Wincheſter and its environs were formerly famous for vines, as appears from the old verſes cited by Mr. Somner:

[*w*] So the MS. of Eutropius in the public library at Cambridge; and ſee Vinetus ad loc. See alſo Victor in Epitome, Vopiſcus, and Cellarius, I. pag. 356.
[*x*] Eutropius, Victor, Vopiſcus, Univ. Hiſt. XV. pag. 478.
[*y*] Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. I. 1.
[*z*] Polychron. pag. 192.
[*a*] Ric. Corin. pag. 13.
[*b*] Amm. Marc. lib. xv.

" Teſtis

" Teſtis eſt London ratibus, Wintonia Baccho [*c*]," &c.

The teſtimony of John Twyne, in his commentary, who ſuppoſes the city of Wincheſter to have taken its name from hence [*d*], is very ample and expreſs: " Haec vero iiſdem temporibus Bri-" tannis *Caerguent*, eodem quoque ſenſu a Romanis dicta eſt " Vintonia: et temporis tractu corrupte noſtro more *Wintonia*, a " Saxonibus poſtea Wincheſter, id eſt, urbs vini vel vinifera, " quaſi dicas, munitio vel fortificatio ubi crevit optimum vinum " in Britannia, appellata eſt. Nam cum antiquitus haec inſula " in locis campeſtribus ac montoſis, qui ſolaribus radiis expone-" rentur, vitibus ad vinum exprimendum conſitis abundaret, ac " fieret non illaudandum: nullum tamen erat Wintonienſis " Lyaeo latice [*e*] tractus anteferendum, aut ne conferendum " quidem: quanquam Malmeſburienſis Gloceſtrenſis agri vites ac " vinum tantopere laudibus evehat [*f*]."

As to Canterbury, and that neighbourhood, the ſame author makes the abbat of St. Auguſtine's ſay, " Sed ne noſtra ſane do-" mus vineis carebat olim, quibus Northomes [*g*], Fiſhpole, Lit-" tlebourne, Conningbrooke, in parochia de Sellinge, cum non-" nullis aliis deſtinabantur." Mr. Somner conjectures, that the ſtreet at Canterbury, called Winecheape, might perhaps take its name from being a market for wines [*b*]. However, he elſewhere informs us, that in the time of Henry de Eaſtry, prior of Canterbury, A. D. 1285, ſeq. that church, as well as the abbey of St. Auguſtine's there, was plentifully furniſhed with vineyards,

[*c*] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 170.

[*d*] Other authors do not agree with him; particularly not Mr. Baxter, nor Dr. Muſgrave, who, I. pag. 50. obſerves, that the etymon of Venta is not yet aſcertained.

[*e*] Legendum forte *latici*.

[*f*] Joh. Twynus de Rebus Albionicis, &c. pag. 116.

[*g*] Theſe were planted about 1320. Thorn, Chron. inter X ſcriptores, col. 2036.

[*b*] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 81.

as at Colton, Berton, St. Martin's, Chertham, Brook, and Hollingbourn, all manors belonging to that houſe, and all ſituate in Kent [*i*].

AT Rocheſter, a large piece of ground adjoining to the city is now called *The Vine*; another is ſo called at Sevenoke in Kent; and this alſo was the name of the ſeat of the barons Sandes, now extinct, in Hampſhire. On occaſion of the mention of this laſt place Mr. Camden obſerves, that we had vines in Britain ever ſince the time of Probus the Emperor, "for it was he who "gave liberty to the Britains and others to have vines [*k*]," agreeable to what has been delivered above. At Halling, near Rocheſter, the biſhop of that ſee had formerly a vineyard; for when Edward II. in his nineteenth year, was at Bockinfold, "biſhop Hamon ſent him thither," as Mr. Lambarde tells us, "a preſent of his drinkes, and withal both wine and grapes of "his own growth in his vineyarde at Halling, which is now a "good plaine meadowe [*l*]". Captain Nicholas Toke, of Godington in Great Chart, in Kent, "hath ſo induſtriouſly and elegantly," ſays Philipot, "cultivated and improved our Engliſh "vines, that the wine, preſſed and extracted out of their grapes, "ſeems not only to parallel, but almoſt to out-rival that of "France [*m*]."

SUSSEX being a county ſo far South, one may reaſonably expect to hear of ſomething material from thence; and accordingly Mr. Lambarde writes, "Hiſtory hath mention, that there was "about that tyme (the Norman invaſion) great ſtore of vines at "Santlac (near to Battel in Suſſex) [*n*]." He adds, as to Berkſhire,

[*i*] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 145.
[*k*] Camden, Brit. col. 147. See alſo Rapin, I. pag. 21.
[*l*] Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, pag. 419.
[*m*] Philipot Villare Cantianum, pag. 112.
[*n*] Lambarde's Top. Dict. pag. 350.

ſhire, "The like whereof I have redd to have been at Wyndſore, "in ſo moche as tythe of theim hathe bene theare yelded in great "plenty, which gyveth me to think, that wyne hath bene made "longe ſence within the realme; although in our memorie it "be accompted a great deintye to heare of." See a further account of this affair at Windſor, pag. 423. where the author obſerves, that ſome part of the wine was ſpent in the king's houſhold, and ſome ſold for the king's profit.

JOHN Twyne has obſerved, that William of Malmeſbury has extolled the vines and wine of Glouceſterſhire; and the paſſage is extant in William's book De Geſtis Pont. IV. pag. 283. See alſo Camden, [edit. 2. col. 411.] and biſhop Gibſon's inſertion there.

"AT Rageneia, in Eſſex," ſays Domeſday Book, "there is "one park, and ſix arpennies of vineyard, which, if it takes well, "yields twenty modii of wine," which, ſays Mr. Camden[*o*], "I "here take notice of, both for the French word *arpennis* [*p*], and "for the mention of the wine made in this iſland."

WE hear of vineyards alſo in Middleſex [*q*], the Iſle of Ely[*r*], at Dunſtaple[*s*], and at St. Edmundſbury; for in the ingraved plan of that town, the vineyard of the abbey is particularly noted.

As to Northamptonſhire, Martin Abbat of Peterborough, T. Regis Stephani, is ſaid expreſsly, in the Saxon chronicle, to have planted a vineyard [*t*]; indeed, I think, there were few great monaſteries here in England but what had their vineyards.

[*o*] A meaſure peculiar to vineyards, meadows, and woods. Spelm. Gloſſ. in voc.

[*p*] Camden, Brit. col. ccccxi. Spelm. Gloſſ. v. ARPENNIS.

[*q*] Spelm. ibid.—In London in Eaſt Smithfield; Vine-ſtreet, Hatton-garden; another in St. Giles's in the Fields. Bagford's letter to Hearne, p. xxv. Add to theſe, the vineyard of Hounſditch, and Vine-ſtreet, Piccadilly.

[*r*] Ibid.—A piece of ground at Denny abbey, Cambridgeſhire, is called the Vineyard.

[*s*] "Prior dirationavit apud Scaccarium miſericordiam Stephani Vinitoris et "Petri Vinitoris ſui." Annal. Dunſt. pag. 94. where Mr. Hearne conjectures we ſhould read *filii ſui*; but I think without cauſe, theſe two perſons being probably not father and ſon, but rather employed in the vineyard of the priory.

[*t*] Pag. 240. See alſo R. Swapham, pag. 105. 108, 109. This vineyard was large.

VINES have alſo come to tolerable perfection both in Oxfordſhire and Staffordſhire, "The vine," ſays Dr. Plot, "has been "improved by the right worſhipful Sir Henry Lyttleton to that "advantage at Over-Arley, which is ſituate low and warm, be-"ing ſurrounded with hills, that he has made wine ſo good "there, that it has been altogether undiſtinguiſhable from the "beſt French wines by the moſt judicious palates; but this, I "ſuppoſe, was done only in ſome favourable over-hot ſummer, "though, if the vines were placed advantageouſly, 'tis poſſible it "might be done in an indifferent year; the reverend and learned "Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, preſident of Trinity College, and dean of "Wells, having made as good claret here at Oxon. A. D. 1685, "which was a very mean year for that purpoſe, as one could "wiſh to drink. Which is ſo far from wonder, that we are in-"formed they planted vineyards, and made wines, antiently over "all the kingdom; for though Tacitus ſays, it bore all ſorts of "fruits *praeter oleam et vitem*, yet we find in Vopiſcus, that the "emperor Probus, for ſome good ſervice done, permitted the "Britons to plant them vineyards, which had been no great "favour, could they not have made wines [*u*]."

BUT there are evidences of vineyards even further North than this; there was one at Darley abbey in the county of Derby [*w*]. And, if I be not miſtaken, the ſeveral villages there of South Winfield, North Winfield, and Wingerworth, all take their names from the vineyards formerly flouriſhing at thoſe places.

THEY had vines alſo in Ireland, according to venerable Bede, who teſtifies, that it was not in his time *vinearum expers* [*x*]; and

[*u*] Plot, Nat. Hiſt. of Staff. p. 380.—Several places called vineyards about Shrewſbury in Bowen's map of Shropſhire.

[*w*] Grant 4 and 5 Ph. and Mary, from Sir William Weſt to his ſon Edmund, penes Joh. Heath de Derby, gen.

[*x*] Beda, Eccl. Hiſt. pag. 42.

Richard

Richard of Cirenceſter agrees with him [*y*]; but Ralph Higden contradicts him upon this head [*z*].

MANY more paſſages relative to this ſubject might, no doubt, be collected together from the writings of our antiquaries, but theſe are all that occur to me at preſent; and, it is hoped, will be ſufficient for the purpoſe, namely, to ſhew, what Dr. Plot above obſerves, that the Britons *made wines antiently over (almoſt) all the kingdom.*

A LEARNED man, without a name, cited by Mr. Camden [*a*], fancied that the paſſage above quoted from Vopiſcus, concerning the emperor Probus, might ſlip from him unawares, intimating, that the country was unfit for vines; whereas, ſays Mr. Camden, in anſwer, and very juſtly, "We not only have vines *now*, but "for certain had great ſtore in former days." This, indeed, ſufficiently appears from the account above given of the ſeveral plantations.

THE cauſe of the diſuſe and the neglect of the vineyards here in England was, according to ſome, the ſloth of the inhabitants, and not the indiſpoſition of the climate [*b*]; according to others, it was the cheapneſs of the Aquitain wine, and the eaſe by which it could be brought over, together with the great advantage that could be made of the paſtures otherwiſe [*c*]. Twyne attributes it partly to our indolence, and partly to that fondneſs for French wines which came upon us in the reign of Henry III. "Verum hae "*(vineae)* et quotquot in Anglia fuerant, ad vinum comparatae, "temporum viciſſitudine, et incolarum ſocordia deficere, maxime "Henrici tertii, Johannis filii, temporibus coepere, cum gliſcen-

[*y*] Ric. Corin. pag. 42.
[*z*] Higden, pag. 180.
[*a*] Britannia. col. xc.
[*b*] Camden, Brit. col. CCLXIX.
[*c*] Virdungus ad Taciti Agric. cap. xii.

" tibus domeſticis et externis bellis, noſtrates Gallicum vinum et " ſanguinem ardentius ſitirent[*d*]." It is certain, that in the reign of Henry III, about A. D. 1260, a Dolium of the beſt wine could be bought for 40*s*. ſometimes for two marks, and ſometimes for 20*s*. [*e*].

IT is not to be ſuppoſed that at any time, ſince the firſt introduction of the vine here, the inhabitants of the iſland produced wine enough for their own conſumption, but rather, that in all ſeaſons they imported a great deal from abroad. Thus in the later periods, when the monaſteries were at the richeſt, and vineyards were the moſt numerous and the moſt flouriſhing, we find, that at Canterbury, the prior of the Trinity, now called Chriſt Church, received two-pence upon every veſſel of wine coming into the port of Sandwich [*f*]. And Philip, king of France, made a grant of one hundred *modii* [*g*] of wine annually to the ſame church [*b*]. A great quantity was imported from Gaſcoigne; for at the Jubilee, A. D. 1420, it is noted, that ſuch care was taken by the victuallers, that " lagena vini rubei de Vaſconia " tunc vendebatur ad octo denarios, et lagena vini albi ad ſex de- " narios," &c. [*i*]. At the inthronization feaſt of abp. Warham, A. D. 1504, or of abp. Robert Winchelſea, A. D. 1295 (for the bill of fare which Mr. Battely in his Appendix, page 27. gives as abp. Warham's, is in Dr. Drake's edition of Matth. Parker, page 63. given as abp. Winchelſea's, but I take it to belong to the former) there was provided as follows:

" De vino rubeo vi dolia. prec. dol. iiii[l].
" De vino clareto iv dol. prec. dol. lxxiii[s] iiii[d]

[*d*] Twyni Comment. l. c.
[*e*] W. Whitleſey, pag. 130.
[*f*] Philipot Villare, p. 93.
[*g*] The modius was 36 gallons. Spelm. Hence the French *muyd.*
[*b*] Philipot's Viſitation, in the Herald's office.
[*i*] Somner, Append. pag. 51.

" De

" De vino albo elect. unum dolium price 3[l] 6[s] 8[d]
" De vino albo pro coquina i dol. price 3[l]
" De malveſey i but. price 4[l]
" De oſſey i pipe price 3[l]
" De vino de Reane[k] ii almes. price 1[l] 6[s] 8[d][l].

'Tis plain, from the prices being mentioned, that the wine uſed on the occaſion was chiefly imported, and the reaſon that ſo much was employed in the kitchen was, that it was a fiſh dinner, and conſequently much wine would be conſumed in the ſeveral ſauces. The priory of Dunſtaple, upon the failure of their malt A. D. 1274, conſumed five dolia of wine[m]; and, as it appears, theſe wines were chiefly imported[n]. At the great inthronization feaſt of George Nevil, abp. of York, 6 Ed. IV. an hundred tuns of wine were uſed[o]; too much, doubtleſs, to be thought to grow in his own territories, or indeed to be eaſily purchaſed in England. Henry Bowet, abp. alſo of York, is ſaid to have conſumed eighty tun of claret yearly in his houſe[p]; and it appears from Matthew Paris, that Hugh Norwold, bp. of Ely, A. D. 1252, had much wine in his cellars in caſks[q]. King John A. D. 1199, ordained by a ſtatute, " Quod nullum tonellum vini " Pictavenſis vendatur carius quam xx ſolidis; et nullum tonel- " lum vini Andegavenſis carius quam xxiv. ſolidis; et nullum to- " nellum vini Franciae[r] carius quam pro xxv ſolidis; niſi vi- " num illud adeo bonum ſit, quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa " duas marcas ad altius," &c.[s]. It ſeems they drank abundance

[k] I ſuppoſe *Rheniſh*, *Aun* being the proper meaſure for it.
[l] Battely's Append. pag. 27.
[m] Annal. Dunſt. pag. 425.
[n] Ibid. pag. 628. 641.
[o] Battely's Appendix, pag. 29.
[p] Drake's Eboracum, pag. 440.
[q] M. Paris, pag. 855.
[r] Poictou and Anjou then belonged to England.
[s] Annal. Burton. pag. 257.

of wine in England at this time; for it follows, after mention made of the alteration contained in this ordinance, "Et ſic repleta "eſt terra potu et potatoribus."

As the wine in Britain was never ſufficient in quantity for the uſe and conſumption of the inhabitants, ſo I conceive it was not very excellent in goodneſs. Mr. Camden acknowledges, and very juſtly, that as ſoon as the ſun has paſſed Leo, the afternoon heat in autumn is too little in ſtrength and continuance in Britain to ripen and concoct grapes to perfection [*t*]. But nevertheleſs, there is no reaſon to ſay as Monſieur Rapin does, that no great profit was reaped by the permiſſion granted by the Emperor Probus [*u*]; for the benefit was conſiderable queſtionleſs, although the Britiſh wines might not be of the richeſt and moſt generous kind, nor adequate in quantity to the conſumption. William Thorn expreſsly teſtifies, that, in his time, the vineyard of his abbey in Nordhome was "ad commodum et magnum hono-"rem [*w*]". But as to this article of goodneſs and perfection in the wines here made, ſomething may be ſeen concerning them in the quotations produced above: the performances of Mr. King are known to many; and the Muſeum Ruſticum will inform of the quality of the Burgundy made by his grace the duke of Norfolk at Arundel in Suſſex.

Whittington, Dec. 31, 1763.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[*t*] Camden, col. MCCCXII.
[*u*] Rapin, I. pag. 21.
[*w*] Thorn. Chron. col. MMXXXVI.

LVII. *A Let-*

LVII. *A Letter relating to an antient* Greek *Inſcription*; *from Mr.* Thomas Blackwell, Greek-*Profeſſor in* Mariſhall *College*, Aberdeen, *to Mr.* J. Ames.

SIR,

YOURS of the 11th of July, incloſing an antient Greek inſcription, and honouring me with a requeſt of its explication, came not to my hands till the other week in the country; and as it is now vacation, I am juſt about ſetting out on a tour through the weſt of Scotland. This hurry allows not the leiſure requiſite to inveſtigate the dark parts of the inſcription; but I will chearfully give you my conjecture at firſt ſight.

I AM of opinion, that the inſcription is of the *Low Empire*, when tranſlated to Conſtantinople, and when the people were rather more, if poſſible, addicted to public ſhews, than when they only wiſhed for "Panem et Circenſes." The *Veneta* and *Praſina* factions divided the ſtate; the very Emperors took party, and erected ſtatues to drivers and gladiators (Porphyrius, Fauſtinus, Julian,) many of whoſe inſcriptions yet remain. Rich men, among their numerous train of ſlaves, had all ſorts of artiſts and gladiators of every denomination.

WHEN any of theſe excelled at the ſpectacles, the people begged their liberty, or their maſter and miſtreſs gave it voluntarily; and frequently, either they from gratitude, or their maſters from oſtentation, cauſed an inſcription to be ingraved in honour of their victories and manumiſſion. With unfeigned ſubmiſſion, therefore, to better information, I conjecture yours to be ſuch a monument in honour of Hecataea, a rich lady, who ſeems to have had ſome celebrated gladiators among her ſlaves. If either a part of her eſtate lay in *Taſſo* (the antient Thaſus, famous

mous for wine, corn, gold, and not very far from Conſtantinople) or if the ſlaves were natives of the iſland, 'twill equally account for the marble's being found there. The firſt word, by the breach in the ſtone, is imperfect: I cannot doubt but it has been ΕΣΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ, to anſwer to the *Mirmillones* on the other ſide; and, if there be no eraſion between them (which you will eaſily perceive) that theſe two words, originally Latin, but like hundreds more adopted into the lower Greek, were meant as indexes over the lower inſcription, which, through the wonted ignorance of the lapidary, is both confuſed, and ſeems by the blank at the end, and unfiniſhing of the borders (uſually ornamented) to have been left half done.

UPON theſe foundations I moſt humbly offer the reading and explication of your marble, herewith incloſed; and as I have little doubt of its general purport, the confuſion of the numerals (through the blundering of the illiterate carver) makes me only ſay ἐπέχω, until I am ſet right by you and the learned ingenious gentlemen of your Antiquarian Society, to whom I deſire my ſincere reſpects.

Mariſhal College, Aberdeen,
Auguſt 18, 1748.

T. BLACKWELL.

ΕΣΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ: ΑΙΓΙΠΑΝ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ. ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ ΝΙ: Ο: ΣΤΕ: ΙΑ

ΜΟΡΜΙΛΛΟΝΕΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ: ΤΥΝΔΑΡΕΩΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ. ΕΝΙΚΑ Π: ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ ΕΚΑΤΑ..

Thus in the uſual character, and at length:

Ἐσσεδάριοι Ἑκαταίας. Αἰγίπαν, Ἑκαταίας (ἀπελεύθερος) ἀπελύθη νικήσας ō. ςεφάνυς ιᾱ

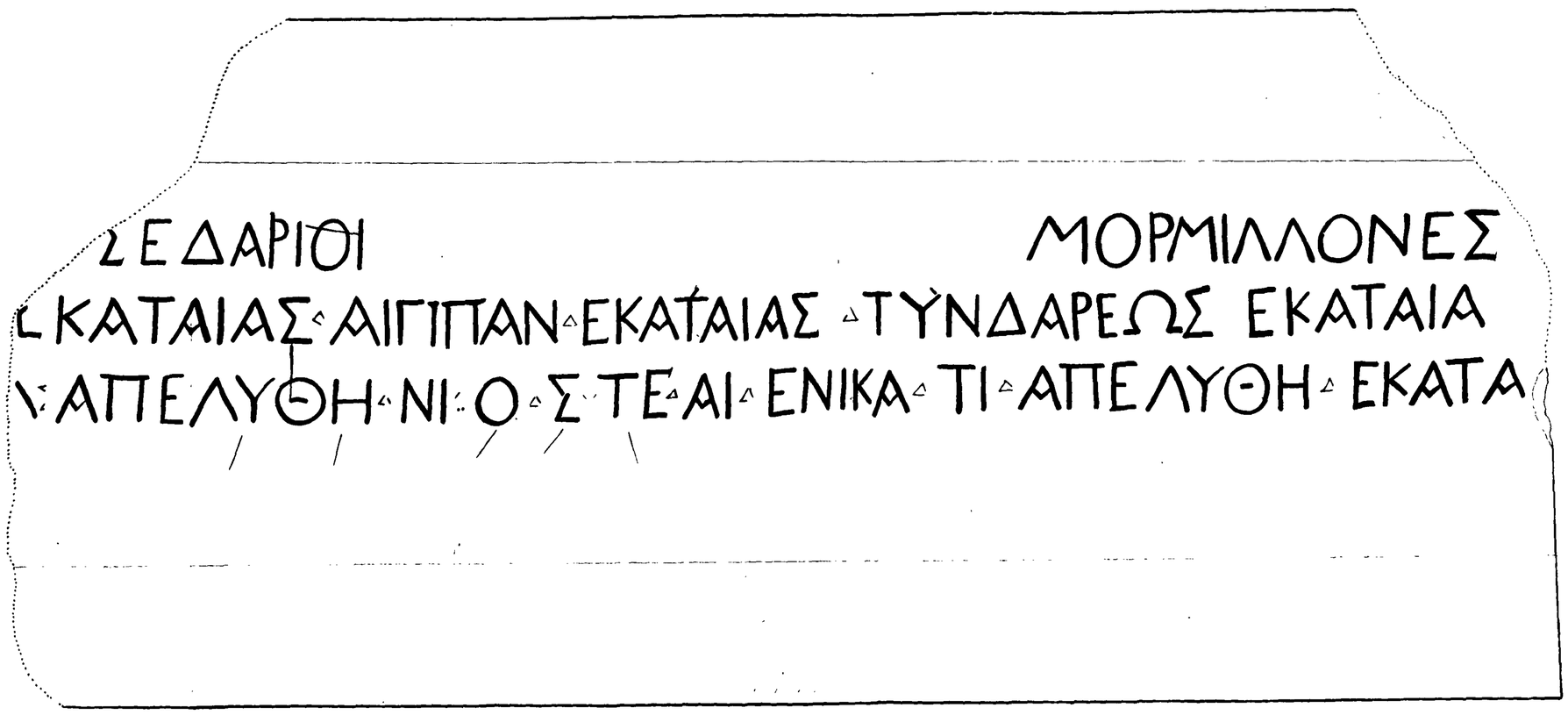
Μορμιλλόνες Ἑκαταίας. Τυνδάρεως, Ἑκαταίας (ἀπελεύθερος) ἐνίκα π̄ ἀπελύθη.———

PERHAPS the blunders of the ſtone-cutter in the arrangement and numerals have occaſioned the ſtone to be thrown aſide, with the inſcription unfiniſhed.

Τυνδάρεως is the Attic nominative.

The

An Inscription on a white Marble found in the Isle of Sasso near the Coast of Romania by Capt. Josiah Hales 1728.



A Scale of one Foot.

The following is an Obſervation relating to the ſame Inſcription: Communicated by that learned Orientaliſt, M. De la Croze.

POUR ce qui concerne l'inſcription Grecque de l'iſle de Thaſos, elle n'eſt aſſurement pas entiére. Il y manque au moins une lettre de la premiere ligne, où il faut lire ΑΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ, ou Ἐσεδάριοι. C'etoit une eſpece de gladiateurs qui combattoient dans des chariots, *in eſſedis*. Il en eſt fait mention dans Artemidore, Liv. II. ch. xxxiii. pag. 122. de l'edition de Nicolas Rigault, et dans une inſcription deterree à Lion, l'an 1714.

LVIII. *Obſervations on a Deed in* Latin *and* Saxon, *of* Odo, *Biſhop of* Baieux, *half Brother of* William *the Conqueror: by the Rev.* Samuel Pegge.

Read November 21, 1765.

THIS deed, which is copied from a fine Chartulary in Sir *Edward Dering's* library, is curious both for the inſtrument itſelf, and the ſeal. It was peruſed by our famous Kentiſh antiquary Mr. John Philipot, who tells us, in his account of Wickam-Brews [*a*], that, " in the twentieth year of " William the Conqueror, Odo, biſhop of Baion, and earl of Kent, " held this place of the gift of his half brother, which was " that prince; and Trendley Park, adjoining there, was a com-

[*a*] Philipot, Villare Cantianum, pag. 361.

" poſition between the archbiſhop and this man, for certain land " of the ſaid archbiſhop, to be incloſed and included within the " ſaid park at Frendley: which ſignifies thus much unto us, " that Woodſtock, which boaſts itſelf to be the firſt incloſed " park of England [*b*], was not ſo ancient as this at Trendley."

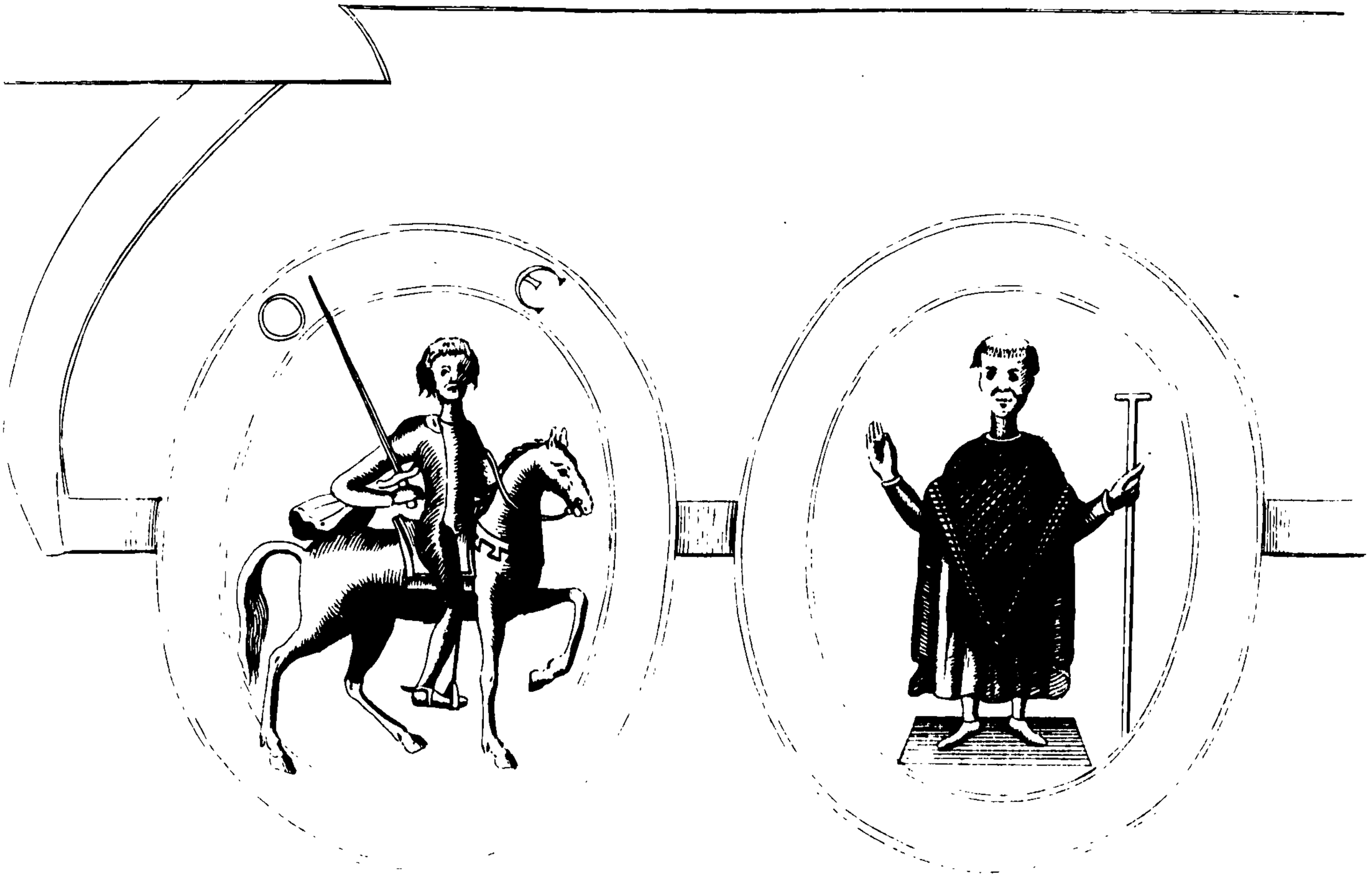
THIS paragraph, however, is pregnant with miſtakes; for firſt, if I underſtand the author's meaning, (for he has by no means expreſſed himſelf clearly) it is here aſſerted, that the *whole and entire Park* at this place was the ſubject of the compoſition, as he calls it, or exchange, between Odo and archbiſhop Lanfranc; but upon the ſlighteſt inſpection of the inſtrument it appears quite otherwiſe, *viz.* that Odo had already a park here, but that the archbiſhop having 25 acres of land lying within it, he procured them of him, by giving him other lands in exchange. 2dly, He calls Odo biſhop of Baion, inſtead of Baieux, a city of Normandy. 3dly, He repreſents this park at Trendley as an incloſed one; and 4thly, He refers the deed to the 20th of the Conqueror's reign, both which will be found in the ſequel to be miſtakes.

THE deed is both in Latin and Saxon: the Latin part, which in the before-mentioned Chartulary is written in a common modern round hand, runs thus: " Odo Baiocenſis ep's Lanfranco " archiep'o, et Hammoni vicecomiti, et omnibus Canturienſib. " regis fidelib. ſalute'. Notum ſit vobis, q'd ego O. Baiocenſis " ep's, et comes Cantie, noſtre matri que in honore Sc'e Trinitatis " exſtructa eſt Canturienſi ecc'le trado has quatuor dennas terre, " videlicet Loſſenhamu' et Adelardendena' et Blacecota' et Ac- " dena', a do'no Lanfranco archiep'o et om'ib. ſucceſſorib. ej. " perpetuo uſu poſſidendas, pro redemptione domini mei Guil- " elmi regis Anglorum, et mee et eorum de quorum ſalute ſpe- " cialit. injunctu' eſt michi p'curare, et p[illegible]a'bio XX. et V. " actar. terre que infra parcum meum de Wikeham continentur."

[*b*] Dugd. Bar, I. 69.

The

Odo t of baus zpet Landfpanc aræb 7 hæmenẽ ſcip ze nefan 7 ealle þæſ kinzes þezenaſon cænt fpeondlicæſt eop eallũ cũd þ ic Odot of baus 7 eopl on cænt ze annupe modep þ iſxpeſ cipcean on cantpape byprz þaſ fupep dæne landeſ þ irloſenham 7 adalapdæn dæne 7 blacecotan 7 Acdæna Spa þ ſe laforð Landfpanc aræ þ 7 ealle hiſ æftep zænzan hi heom ze azman on ece yrfe þyſ ic do fop minep laforder alyſednerre Willelmeſ kinzeſ 7 fop minre 7 fop þapa manna alyfednesſe be þæpa hælu me r ſyndeplice zymene 7 fop ze hpyrfe fif 7 tpentizpa æcepa landeſ ſa bezand þið innan minũ — deopfalde æt Wiccham.



The Saxon part being an offtrait, the original inſtrument is engraved on the oppoſite page.

THE firſt thing remarkable in the inſtrument is, that it is given in two languages; the Saxon is not the tranſlation of the Latin made after the execution of the deed, nor the Latin of the Saxon; but both are originals. And this, it ſeems, was the cuſtom at this time, and during the reigns of the firſt Norman kings, as appears from ſeveral originals in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Aſtle [*c*], and others. In the Textus Roffenſis, pag. 141. you have an inſtrument of the Conqueror's in Latin, with the Saxon following. Indeed, in the copy Mr. Hearne printed from, the Saxon part is omitted; but in my MS. tranſcript of that book, made under the inſpection of Mr. William and Mrs. Elizabeth Elſtob, the Saxon is inſerted, pag. 105. and it is alſo printed in Mr. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. I. pag. 336. And in the old Regiſter or Chartulary of the church of Lincoln, lately recovered to that ſee by my moſt valuable friend the preſent biſhop, an inſtrument of William the Conqueror is entered in Latin, but in the margin is written, "Item alia charta *Anglice ſcripta* conti-"netur in eadem." The Latin here was neceſſary, becauſe the principal parties, Odo and the Archbiſhop, were both Normans, (as likewiſe was Hamo the ſheriff), and probably underſtood not the Saxon tongue: but the king's ſubjects being in general at that time Saxons, for that reaſon it was drawn up likewiſe in that language. And hence, in after-times, charters were directed "et "Francigenis et Anglis." But for the further illuſtration and confirmation of this, it is very neceſſary here to remark, that, from the time of king Aelfred, it was cuſtomary amongſt the Saxons to iſſue their charters in both the French and the Saxon character, from whence it was a very eaſy tranſition to apply more tongues than one. Obſerve the words of Ingulphus: "De-"tuleram . . . . . chartas etiam Edredi quondam regis, et reſ-

[*c*] The ſeal in thoſe charters are not pendent at the bottom, but affixed to the left ſide of the charter.

" tauratoris noſtri, ac Edgari regis noſtri confirmatoris, et alio-
" rum regum Anglorum poſt eos ſuccedentium uſque ad haec
" tempora noſtra, que partim *duplicate* tam Gallica manu, quam
" Saxonica ſcribebantur [*d*]." And in Henry III's time, the ſentence of excommunication againſt the infringers of Magna Charta is directed to be publiſhed both in Engliſh and French [*e*]. Thus, therefore, the deeds being twins, but in effect one, a comment upon one will ſerve for an illuſtration of the other.

CANTURIENSIBUS.] This gentile noun is here, and below, formed after a poetical manner; and in the ſame ſhape you will find it in a metrical inſcription cited by Mr. Somner in his Antiquities of Canterbury, pag. 126. In proſe we have it commonly *Cantuarienſis*.

FIDELIBUS.] In the Saxon þeȝenaſ, *Thegns*, and ſee Text. Roffenſis in Angl. Sacr. I. pag. 336.

IN honore Sanctae Trinitatis.] For, *in honorem*. This is uſual in inſcriptions, as in one in Poſtling church, Com. Kent. and another in Aſhbourn church, Com. Derb. both of them antient [*f*]. It occurs alſo in good authors, as Virg. Aen. III. 406. See the excellent Decker ad L. Florum, lib. III. cap. xx. Pitiſc. ad Q. Curt. lib. IV. cap. ix. § 25. and Joh. Voſſtius ad Sulp. Sever. de vita Martini, cap. 10.

HAS quatuor Dennas.] This is the word ſo frequent in the termination of names of places in the Weald of Kent, and ſignifies a low place or valley, from the Anglo-Saxon word expreſſed in the other deed. See alſo the Philoſ. Tranſact. N° 372; hence the Engliſh word *den*, " ferarum ſive latronum ſpelunca."

MEAE.] Lege, *meâ*.

HAVING done with the phraſeology and expreſſions, I now go upon the deed itſelf. The inſtrument is undoubtedly genuine;

[*d*] Ingulphus, pag. 85.

[*e*] Annal. Burton. pag. 333. See the ſame annals, pag. 372. 416.

[*f*] See alſo Joh. Roſſus, pag. 24. 47. 53. 209. So *in nomine*, ibid. pag. 54. Add Bede, pag. 131. Dugd. Monaſt. II. pag. 125. III. pag. 220. Marm. Oxon. pag. 62. Ann. Burton. pag. 259.

and

and yet John Rous, the Warwick antiquarian, expreſsly tells us, pag. 138. that Henry I. was the firſt of our kings that made uſe of a ſeal of wax. But this author certainly errs; for, in Sandford we have impreſſions of the kind, both by William the Conqueror and William Rufus, which no body diſputes; not to-mention the ſeals of Edward the Confeſſor, appealed to by Sir William Dugdale [*g*], Mr. Carte [*h*], and others.

THE park at Trendley is mentioned, but without a name, in Domeſday Book, where, under the title of *Terra Epiſcopi Baiocenſis*, we read, as I have it from Sir Edward Dering's extracts:

In Donamesford Hundred.

Iſ̃e Eſ̃s ten' in đnio Wickeham p̄ IV ſolins ſe defedt. Tr̃a ẽ IX car̃. in dn̄io ſunt II car̃. & XXXVI villi cum XXXII cott. hn̄t IX car̃. Ibi Eccl̃ia, & unus p̄br qui dat XL ſol' p̄ annum. Ibi unus parcus, & II molini de L ſolid. & II ſaline de XXXII denar' & III piſcarie de IV ſolid' & XXXII acre prati. Paſtura ad CCC oves, & ad XXXII anim'. Silva q'ter XX^ti porc. T. R. E. valebat XXV lib̄. quando recēp XX lib̄. modo XXX lib̄.

IT is, neverthelefs, omitted by Mr. Lambarde [*i*]: and whereas Philipot repreſents it as an incloſure, I muſt think he is miſtaken; for the archbiſhop's land is not only ſaid to *lie within it* in our Deed, but is alſo ſaid expreſsly *not to be incloſed*, in the following extract taken from a MS. in the Dering library, intituled, "Index alphabeticus per loca Cantiana et per nomina vi-
"rorum compoſit. ad literas patentes, ad clauſa, et ad eſcaet.
"Turr. London, 1633," where we read as follows:

"WICKHAM maner. extent. ejuſdem cum feria ultra aquam
"ib'm, et quodam *parco non clauſo*, in quo ſunt cc acr. boſci, in
"quo maner. heredes Rogeri Daniell, et anteceſſores ſui, &c.
"habent paſturam ad VII boves et cc oves in Grenemerſh, et
"alibi, et tempore pannagii xx porcos et unum aprum. Eſc. 3°
"Hen. 6. N° - - - poſt mortem Ed. Com. March." So that, for aught I know, Woodſtock may ſtill be the oldeſt *incloſed* park

[*g*] Hiſt. of Warwickſhire, p. 672.
[*h*] Hiſt. of England, vol. I. pag. 374.
[*i*] Lambarde's Perambulation, pag. 60.

in England, notwithſtanding this of Trendley (or Trindlega, as I have ſeen it written anciently) was in being ſo long before it. The words of John Rous, relating to Woodſtock, are theſe, ſpeaking of Henry II. "Etiam in Anglia parcum de Woodſtock "cum palacio, infra praedictum parcum, qui parcus erat primus "parcus Angliae, et pro eo fiendo plures villae deſtructae ſunt, et "continet in circuitu ſeptem milliaria Anglicana," Roſſus, pag. 138. The author, by *primus* here, does not mean firſt in dignity, but firſt in time, as is evident from theſe words a line or two below, "Hujus rei exemplo ceteri domini imparcaverunt certas "terras ſuas." See Dugd. Warwickſhire, pag. 304.

As to the date of the inſtrument which I conſider next, Philipot, you ſee, fixes it to the 20th of William the Baſtard; but this cannot be endured, ſince Lanfranc and Odo could not poſſibly have any dealings together ſo late as A. D. 1086. they being then profeſſed enemies, and Odo then a priſoner in Normandy. King William had heaped all manner of honours, great poſts, lucrative employments, and vaſt poſſeſſions upon this brother of his; but he behaved himſelf ſo ungraciouſly, ſo inſolently, ſo ambitiouſly, being ſaid to aſpire not only to the papacy [*k*], but alſo to this crown [*l*], that, in the year 1082, the king found himſelf obliged to put him in priſon. The king ſeized him himſelf in the iſle of Wight; declaring, at the time, that he laid hands upon him, not as biſhop of Baieux, which would have been invidious, but as Earl of Kent; a diſtinction ſuggeſted to him, as Knyghton expreſsly informs us [*m*], by archbiſhop Lanfranc, who likewiſe was the perſon that perſuaded him to this act [*n*]. Odo was detained in cuſtody in Normandy from that time, till within a very ſhort while before the death of his brother William; when, obtaining his liberty, but not without

[*k*] Lambarde's Peramb. pag. 60.
[*l*] Ibid. p. 151. Rapin, I. pag. 179.
[*m*] Knyghton inter X Scriptores, col. 2359.
[*n*] Ibid. Sandford Genealog. Hiſt. pag. 20. Lambarde, pag. 151.

much

much ſolicitation, the brother conſenting to his releaſe with great reluctancy [*o*], he purſued the archbiſhop with the utmoſt malice and revenge [*p*]. Lanfranc was made archbiſhop in the year 1070, and conſequently, ſome time between theſe two dates of 1070 and 1082, this exchange of land muſt have been made between the two prelates, and probably about the year 1075. 'Tis obſervable, that the abp. of Canterbury had no lands at Wickham when Domeſday Book was made, anno 1086, and that Hammo, or Hamo, to whom the deed is addreſſed, was ſheriff of this county of Kent in the ſaid year 1075; for Oſward, who was ſheriff in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, had loſt that office; (which was in thoſe days a beneficial employment) and probably at the acceſſion of the Conqueror, as I learn from the following extract from the record of Domeſday, "Teſtantur quoque quod "Hagelei de iſto m'o ablata eſt, que ſe defendit p' dim. ſolin. "Hanc terram tenebat vicecomes, et quando *vicecomitatum amit-* "*tebat* in firma regis remanebat," &c. [*q*]. Oſward was a Saxon, and, upon the revolution or change of government at the Conqueſt, was obliged to give way to a Norman ſucceſſor, theſe important places of truſt being in general beſtowed on the newcomers. Hamo, the new ſheriff, was Hamo de Crevequer, or de crepito corde, as we are informed by Mr. Philipot, pag. 18. and certain MS. papers of Sir Edward Dering: he continued ſheriff all this reign and the next, and is often mentioned as ſuch in Domeſday Book.

THESE particulars are all ſufficiently clear; there is, however, a difficulty in regard of the king's ſeizure of Odo, which merits ſome notice. The king, 'tis ſaid, confiſcated his effects [*r*] at that time, *viz.* in 1082; but how comes it to paſs then, that Odo has ſuch vaſt eſtates in Domeſday Book, or in 1086? I anſwer, either

[*o*] Rapin, pag. 180. et Annot.
[*p*] Knyghton, l. c. Brompton, col. 984. Simeon Dunelm. col. 214.
[*q*] MS. papers of Sir Edward Dering, relating to the ſheriffs of Kent.
[*r*] Rapin. I. pag. 179.

the.

the king did not ſeize his eſtates when he attached his perſon, or, the ſurvey being begun in 1080, and finiſhed and tranſcribed in 1086, this county of Kent was diſpatched in the firſt two years, and when the whole was tranſcribed from the ſeveral returns in 1086, the ſcribe had no regard to any alterations that might intervene after the returns were made, but took the returns as he found them. By which means, although the biſhop had loſt his lands before the record was completed in the manner we now have it, yet they would neceſſarily ſtand there inrolled. But I incline to the former opinion, namely, that the king did not deprive him of his lands; for, had he done that, Odo could ſcarce have left behind him at his death ſuch immenſe wealth as he is ſaid to have done [*s*]. But enough of this; I go on to obſerve,

THAT the church of Canterbury, now called Chriſt-church, was at this time ſacred to the Holy Trinity, appears from many places in Domeſday Book [*t*]; and conſequently, when in the Saxon part it is called Xpiſtep cipcean, this has no peculiar meaning, but is to be underſtood in the common ſenſe, all churches being in fact the churches of Chriſt.

AND thus having run over the deed, I proceed to the ſeal, which is indeed very curious, and is here ingraved. 'Tis perhaps the only ſeal of Odo this day extant, at leaſt it is the only one I have ever ſeen. It may be doubtful, whether it is an obverſe and reverſe, as is common in great ſeals, or two different ſeals. I incline to the former opinion. In this caſe, Odo is repreſented on horſeback with his ſword and ſpurs, as an earl on one ſide; and on the other, ſtanding with his croſs or paſtoral ſtaff as a biſhop. 'Tis the ſame perſon on both ſides, as appears from the tonſure. Odo had been made biſhop of Baieux by his brother, and very ſoon after the Conqueror's arrival in England was created by him earl of Kent; and one cauſe of the king's appre-

[*s*] Philipot's, Liſt of Lord Treaſurers. Lambarde, pag. 151.

[*t*] Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. pag. 126. Appendix, N° I. & XL. Battely, Cant. Sacr. pag. 11. 13.

hending

hending him in the Iſle of Wight, was, as Mr. Lambarde informs us, his refuſing to ſurrender this county [*u*]. For the earldoms at this time were not titles of honour only, but places of office and truſt. And to enumerate on this occaſion the reſt of his grand titles and offices, he was chief juſticiary of England [*w*], treaſurer [*x*], conſtable of Dover caſtle [*y*], and in his brother's abſence A. D. 1067 was joined with Fitz-Oſbern in the regency of the kingdom [*z*]; he was regent again A. D. 1074 [*a*]. The immenſe power and grandeur of this prelate is well expreſſed in theſe words of Ingulphus, pag. 78. "Inveniens .... archi-" epiſcopum Lanfrancum, et dominum Odonem epiſcopum Baio-" cenſem fratrem uterinum domini regis, ipſumque Cantuariae " comitem, et principem palatii, quorum nutu et conſilio tam " rex ipſe, quam regnum ejus univerſum in omni negotio rege-" batur, cauſam mei adventus confidenter expoſui," &c. Odo's eſtate was prodigious, ſince we find from Domeſday Book he had no leſs than 180, or, as Dr. Brady writes, 184 fees in the county of Kent, beſides a great many more in others [*b*]. He was by nature of a martial diſpoſition, as is evident from his being employed by his brother, anno 1080, to ravage the county of Northumberland [*c*], and by the ſtout oppoſition he made to his nephew William Rufus in the beginning of his reign [*d*]. The diſtinction of his epiſcopal and civil character is properly ex-

[*u*] Lambarde, Perambulation, pag. 151.
[*w*] Rapin, I. pag. 181. in not.
[*x*] Philipot, l. c.
[*y*] Lambarde, pag. 150. MS. Hiſt. of the Conſtables by Sir Edward Dering.
[*z*] Rapin, pag. 168 Brompton, col. DCCCCLXII. Lambarde, pag. 222.
[*a*] Rapin, pag. 175. et not.
[*b*] Id. pag. 172. et not.
[*c*] Brompton, col. DCCCCLXXVII. Simeon Dun. col. XLVIII.
[*d*] Id. col. DCCCCLXXXIV. DCCCCLXXXVI. Simeon, col. CCXIV. CCXVI. Philipot, pag. 344. Sandford, pag. 20.

preſſed to us on this ſeal, as indeed it might well be; this prelate, in his ſubſcriptions, deſcribing himſelf in both his capacities, as an eccleſiaſtic, and as a lay peer. Thus in the inſtrument of accord between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, anno 1072, the form runs, "Ego Odo Baiocenſis epiſcopus, et comes Cancie "conſ." [*e*]. But this matter is finely illuſtrated by the ſpeech of his brother when he arreſted him, for he told him, he did not lay hands on him as biſhop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. All the hiſtorians take notice of the king's fineſſe on this occaſion; and it is certain, that Odo could make no exception to that diſtinction, ſince he himſelf made uſe of the like in his ſubſcriptions, and on his public ſeal.

THE right hand of the figure is in the poſture of bleſſing, as biſhops are often drawn. It may be doubted whether it be a croſs or a paſtoral ſtaff which he holds in his left hand. The Abunah of Aethiopia carried a croſs [*f*]. But there is this following very remarkable paſſage in Sir Philip Skippon, concerning the Greek archbiſhop of Philadelphia: "He had a long ſtaff, black, and ſil-"vered over; the top of it was like a crutch [*g*]." Skippon looked upon it to be a croſier or paſtoral ſtaff, and I am inclined to think this of Odo's to be ſuch; for the impreſſion on this ſide agrees perfectly with the deſcription which Dr. Thoroton gives of a ſeal belonging to the abbey of Felley in Nottinghamſhire; "there "was alſo another writing with an oblong ſeal of green wax "hanging at it, the impreſſion whereof contained the image of "a certain biſhop ſtanding in his pontificals, *holding his epiſcopal "ſtaff in his left hand, and lifting up his right hand to bleſs*; the "circumference of it being, Sigillum Gaufridi Dei Gratiâ Ebor. "Archiep'i. [*h*]."

[*e*] Ingulphus, pag. 92.
[*f*] Hamilton's Voy. vol. I. pag. 26.
[*g*] Churchill, Coll. of Voy. VI. pag. 513.
[*h*] Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, pag. 254.

As to the inſcriptions on this ſeal, they probably conſtituted a verſe in rhyme, according to the cuſtom of the age, and alluſive to Odo's double character as earl and prelate; but the remaining letters are too few for one to make even a conjecture about them, and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

'TIS obſervable, that Odo, in the Deeds, aſſumes only his eccleſiaſtical title; and, in his ſubſcription, cited above from Ingulphus, he places the epiſcopate before the earldom; from whence it ſhould ſeem, that the reverſe of the ſeal is put where the obverſe ſhould be, and *vice verſa*. But, perhaps, ſometimes one ſide of his ſeal was put firſt, and ſometimes the other, according to the nature of the buſineſs; and this exchange of land being a meer ſecular affair, and relative to his earldom, propriety required that the obverſe ſhould exhibit him in that capacity. But be this as it will, the reverſes of ſeals have ſometimes been miſtaken for the obverſe. I ſhall give an inſtance of this, and therewith conclude theſe remarks. We have a ſeal of the Conqueror's in Mr. Speed [*i*]. Mr. Lewis, in his Diſſertation on Seals, takes the obverſe of it for the reverſe, & v. v. [*k*]. Mr. Agard, a much greater man, has incurred a like error in regard of that king's ſtyle, into which, I think, he was led by the ſame miſacceptation of the ſeal; for in Mr. Hearne's Collection of curious diſcourſes, pag. 160. ſpeaking of William the Conqueror, he ſays: "thinking himſelf to be a moſt happy man to be king over ſo worthy "a kingdom, which he placed in his ſtyle, and preferred before "his dukedom of Normandy." But the inſcription on the ſeal may convince any conſiderate reader, that theſe gentlemen are both of them miſtaken: it runs thus:

[*i*] See alſo Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt.

[*k*] Speed and Sandford commit the ſame error in their types; but Sandford, in his explanation, pag. 5. takes it right.

" Hoc Normannorum Willelmum noſce patronum;
" Hoc Anglis regem ſigno fatearis eundem."

'Tis plain from the conſtruction, that this is the true order; that the title of Normandy is put firſt, and conſequently, that that ſide is the obverſe of the ſeal. As Normandy is placed firſt here, ſo I judge it to be on the ſeals of William Rufus, Henry I. &c. where our antiquaries, Speed and Sandford, have run into the ſame error. In ſhort, theſe Normans ſeem to have eſteemed the dukedom preferable to the kingdom; for William I. in his diſpoſition of theſe ſtates, gave Normandy to his eldeſt ſon.

LIX. *The Manner of burienge great Perſons in ancient Tymes: From a MS. in the Poſſeſſion of Sir* William Dolben, *Baronet.*

Read June 15, 1769.

THIS is the ordinaunce and guyding that perteyneth unto the worſhipfull beryyng of ony aſtate to be done in manner and fourme enſewing.

1. FIRST to be offered a ſwherde by the moſt worſhipfull man of the kyn of the ſayde aſtate, and ony be preſente, ellis by the mooſte worſhipfull man that is preſente there on his p'te.

2. ITEM in lyke wyſe his ſhelde, his cote of worſhip', his helme and creſte.

3. ITEM to be hadde a baner of the Trinite, a baner of our Lady, a baner of Seynte George, a baner of the ſaynt that was his advowre [*a*], and a baner of his armes. Item a penon of his armes. Ite' a ſtandard and his creſte thereinne.

[*a*] Or, avowee, i. e. his patron or protector.

ITE'

ITE' a geton [*b*] of his deviſe with his worde.

4. ITEM a doubill valaunce about the herſe, bothe above and bynethe, with his worde and his deviſe wreten therinne.

5. ITEM xii ſchochons of his armes to be ſette uppon the barres w'oute and withinne the herſe, and iii doſeyn penſelles to ſtande aboven upon the herſe among the lytes.

6. ITEM to be ordeyned as many ſcochons as there be pilers in the churche, and ſchochons to be ſette in the four quarteres of the ſaid churche, as beſte is to be ſette by diſcrecion.

7. ITEM as many torches as the ſaide aſtate was of yeeres of age. And on ev'ry torche a ſcochon hangyng. And the beerers of the torches in blac.

8. ITEM hit is to be ordeyned ſtandyng v officers of armes abowte the ſaid hers, that is to ſay, oone by fore the ſaide herſe, beryng the cote of worſhipp, and he ſtandyng at the hede in the mydwarde of the ſayde hers; the ſecunde ſtandyng on the right ſide of the herſe in the fore frunte, beryng his ſwhirde; the thirdde ſtandyng on the lefte ſide of the ſayde hers, beryng his helmet and creſte; the fourthe on the right ſide of the ſaide hers, in the nether parte of the herſe, beryng his baner of armes; and the v^the^ ſtandyng on the lifte ſide in the nether parte, he beryng his penon ſo ſtandy'g til the offeryng. And the baners of the Trinite, oure Lady, Seynt George, and the baner of his advoure, to be ſet above in iiii partes of the ſaide hers, and his ſtandard alſoo.

9. ITEM to be ordeyned certeyn clothes of gold for the ladyes of his kyn beyng w'ynne the ſaid hers, and they to ofere the ſaide clothes of golde.

10. ITEM a certeyn of innocentes all clothed in white, ev'ry innocent beryng a taper in his hande.

11. ITEM the hors of the ſaide aſtate trappid with his armes, and a man of armes beyng of his kyn upon the ſame hors, or

[*b*] I ſuppoſe for Guidon.

ellis

ellis ony other man of worſhipp in his name, havyng in his hande a ſpere, ſwhirde, or axe, ſo to be preſented to the offeryng in the churchè with ii worſhipful men, oon goyng on yat one ſide of the hors, and yat other on that other ſide of the hors, and a man ledyng the ſame hors.

12. ITEM the heire of the ſaide aſtate, after he hathe ofered, ſhall ſtand up'on the lifte ſide of the priſte, receyvyng the offeryng of the ſwhirde, helme, and creſt, baner of armes, cote of worſhipp, and penon. It'm ii men of worſhip to ſtonde on the ſame ſide of the priſte, haldyng a baſyn w^t^ money therinne for the offeryng.

LX. *Ceremonial of the Funeral of K.* Edward IV. *From a MS. of the late Mr.* Anſtis, *now in the Poſſeſſion of* Thomas Aſtle, *Eſq.*

Read January 26, 1769.

What ſhall be don on the demyſe of a King annoynted.

WHEN that a King annoynted is deceſſed, aft' his body is ſp'ged, it muſt be waſhed and clenſed by a biſhop for his holy annoyntem^t^, than the body muſt be bamed, wrapped in laun, or reynez yf it may be gotyn, an hoſyn, cherte, & a perer of ſhone of rede lether, & do on his ſurcote of cloth, his cap of eſtate on his hed, and then ley hym on a fair borde cou'ed with cloth of gold, his own hande on his bely & a ſep'r in the toder hande, & oon his face a kerchief, & ſo ſhewed to his noblez by the ſpace of ii dayez & more yef the weder will it ſuffre.

AND when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away & bowell hym, and then eftſones bame hym, wrappe him in raynez wele tramelled in cordes of ſilke, than in garteryn tramelled, & than

than in velvet, & ſo in clothe of gold well tramelled, & than led hym & cofre hym, & in his leed w^t^ hym a plate of his ſtile, name, and the date of our Lord gravyn. And yef ye carry hym, make an ymage like hym clothed in a ſurcote, w^t^ a mantell of eſtate, the laces goodly lying on his bely, his ſepter in his hande, and a crown on his hed, & ſo cary hym in a chare open, w^t^ lights and baners, accompanyed with lordes and eſtatez as the counſeill can beſt devyſe; having the hors of that chare trapped with diu'ſe trappers, or elles w^t^ blake trappers of blake, with ſcochons richely betyn; and his officers of armes aboute hym in his cotes of armez; and then a lorde or a knyght w^t^ a courſer trapped of his armez, his herneyſz upon hym, his ſalet [*a*] or baſenet on his hed crowned, a ſhylde and a ſpere till he come to the place of his ent'ring. And at the maſſe the ſame to be offred by noble princes.

Obit

Edw. 4^t^.

But when that noble p'nce the good King Edward the iiii^th^ was deceſſed at Weſtm' in his paleys, whiche was the ix^th^ day of Ap'll, the xxiii yer of his reign:

First, the corps' was leyde upon a borde all naked, ſaving he was cou'ed from the nauell to the knees, and ſo lay openly x or xii hourez, that all the lordes both ſpirituell & temp'ell then beying in London or ner theraboute, and the meyer of London w^t^ his bredre ſawe hym ſo lying; and then he was ſered, &c. & was brought into the chapell on the morn aft, wher wer ſongen iii ſolempn maſſez; firſt of our Lady, ſonge by the chapeleyn; & ſo was the ſecond of the courte; the iii^de^ maſſe of Requiem, whiche was ſongen by the biſhop' of Chicheſter, and at aft'non ther was ſongen dirige & comendacion.

And after that he had the hole pſalter ſeid by the chapell, and at nyght well weaked with nobles, & oder his s'u'ntz, whoſe

[*a*] Helmet.

names

names enſuen', like as apperethe in the watche rolle from the firſt nyght in tyme he was beryed. And at the maſſe of Requiem the lorde Dacre, the queenes chambrelyn, offred for the quene, & the lordes temp'ell offred dayly at that ſeid maſſe; but the lordez ſp'uell offred not to the biſhop', but to the high auter, & oder the king's ſun'ts offred alſo; this ordre was kept in the paleys viii dayez, ſavinge aft' the firſt daye ther was but on' ſolempn maſſe, whiche alway was ſongen' by a biſhop; and on Wednyſday the xvii day of the monyth aboueſeid the corps was conveied into the abbey, born by diu's knyghts & eſquiers that wer for his body, (that is for to ſey) Sir Gelbard Stanley, Sir John Savage, Sir Thomas Wortley, Sir Thomas Molyneux, Sir John Welles, John Cheyny, maiſt' of the king's horſe was Walter Hungerford, Guy of Wolſton, John Savacotts, Thomas Tyrell, John Ryſley [or Ryfley], Thomas Darcy, John Noryſe, Loys de Brittayll, & Xpofre Colyns; having vpon the corps a riche & a large blak cloth of gold with a croſſe of white clothe of gold, and above that a riche canepye of cloth imp'riall frenged w^{t} gold and blue ſilk born by Sir Thomas Seyntleg'r, Sir Will. Parr countroller, &c. Sir John Aſteley, & Sir Will'm Stonour, knyghts. And at eu'y corner a baner: The firſt of the Trinite, whiche was born by Sir Herry Ferrers: The ſecound of our Lady born by Sir James Radclyf: The iii^{de} of Seint George, born by S^{r} George Broun: The iiii^{the} of Seint Edward, born by S' Gilbert Debenh'm. And the Lorde Howard ber' the king's baner next before the corps, having the officers of armez about them. Wher was ordeyned a worthy herſe like as it apperteyneth, having before hym a grete pr'eſſion, and th' archebiſhop of Yorke, chaunceler of Ingland, the biſshop of London, the biſshop of Cheſter, the biſshop of Bathe, the biſshop of Chicheſter, the biſshop of Norwiche, the biſshop of Durham, the biſshop of Lincoln, the biſshop of Ely, the biſshop of Rowcheſtr, th'abbot of Habyngdon, th'abbot of Beremondeſſey; & theſe lordes folowed the corps & aboute the corps

corps, & aboute the corps, leying their handez thereto, th'erle of Lincoln, the Marques of Dors', th'erle of Huntingdon, the Viſcount Barkley, the Lord Stanley, &c. the Lorde Haſtings, the king's chamberleyn, the Lorde Dacre, the queenys chamberleyn, the Lorde Dudly, the [L^d.] Burgeyn, the Lorde Morley, S' Richard Wodvyle, the Lorde Awdeley, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lorde Liſle, Sir Gelbard Wodevyll, the Lorde Cobham, Lorde Wellez, Sir John Bourſer, Sir Thomas Bourſer, & Sir Thomas Bourſer of Berneys, which Lordes wer w^tin the herſe, that s'vice; & on the morn alſo the s'vice at Weſtmynſter was don by the archebiſshop of York, &c, and at the maſſe th' abbot of Bermeſey was

And in that herſe, aboue the corps & the clothe of gold abouesaid, ther was a p'ſonage like to the ſimilitude of the king in habite roiall, crowned w^t the verray crown on his hed, holding in that one hande a ſceptr, and in that oth'r hand a balle of ſiluer, & gilte, w^t a croſs pate. And aft that the lords that wer w^tin the herſe, and the biſshoppez had offred, the meyer of London offred, and next aft hym the chef juge & other juges & knyghts of the kings hous, w^th the barons of the eſchequier & aldermen of London, as they myght, went to. And when the maſſe was don and all other ſolempnite, and that the lordes wer redy for to ryde, ther was ordeyned a roiall char cov'ed w^t blak veluet, having aboue that a blak clothe of gold, with a white croſs of gold; vnder that a mageſte clothe of blak ſarſenet, drawen w^t vi co'ſers trapped with blak velvet, w^t certeyn ſcochens betyn vpon ſarſenet, betyn w^t fyne golde. Apon the fore hors and the thill hors ſate ii charet men. And on the iiii oder hors ſatte iiii henſhemen. On either ſide the forſeid draught went diu'ſe knyghts & eſquiers for the body & other; ſome leying their handez to the draught, and ſu'me leyding the hors unto tyme they paſſed the townes whoſe namez enſuen.

And the Lorde Haward, the kings banerer, rode next before the forehorſe, bering the kings baner vpon a courſer trapped w^t

blak velvet, w^t^ diu'ſe ſcochons of the kings armez, with his morenyng hudd on his hed. When the corps w^t^ the p'ſonage as aboue, w^t^ pro'ſſion of biſshoppes in pontificalibz, & the iiii ordrez of frerez was conveyed to the chare; and in ordre as aboue to Charingcroſſe, wher the biſshop'z ſenſed the char, and the lordes toke their horſe, & ſo p'ceded to Syon that nyght, where at the churche dore the biſshoppez cenſed the corps, & the corps and the p'ſonage was born as before into the quere. And ther the biſshop' of Dureſm did the s'vce. And in the morn, in like ordre as aboue, he was conveyed to the chare, and from thens to Wyndeſore. Wher at Eton the biſshop of Lincoln & the biſshop of Ely, w^t^ the college, mette & cenſed the corps, and ſo p'ceded to the caſtell gate; the archebiſshop of York, the biſshop of Wyncheſtr, cenſed the corps, preying ther w^t^ the biſshop of Norwiche, the biſshop of Dureſm, the biſſhop' of Rocheſtr, w^t^ the chanons of the college and the kings chapell, & p'ceded to the newe churche, wher in the quer was ordeigned a merveillous wele wrought herſe, and forthw^t^ to dirige. In the euenyng they of the college ſeid the hole pſaulter, and ther was a grete watch that nyght by grete lordez, knyghts, eſquiers for the body, gentilmen vſhers, and other whoſe names enſuen. Firſt, w^t^in the herſe the Lorde of Burgeyne, the Lorde Audley, the Lorde Morley, the Lord Liſle, the Lorde Howard, the Lorde Wells, the Lorde Delawar, the Lorde Fitzhugh, the Lorde Cobham, S' John of Arundell, S' Thomas Bourghchier of Berneys; knyghts w^t^out the herſe, S' Thom's Seintleger, S' Gilbert Debenh'm, S' Herry Ferrers, S' John Savage, S' Gelbard Stanley, Sir Thomas Wortley, S' Thomas Molyneux, Sir Will'm Parker, Sir Will'm Stonouar.

Esquiers for the body; John Cheyny maiſt' of the horſe, Will'm Barkely, Will'm Odall, Rob' Poyntz, John Ryſley, Loys de Brytailles, Anethe Malyuerer, John Sabacotts.

GENTILMEN vſshers; Will'm Colyngburn, Edward Hargill Vaſs, Nicholas Cromer, Will'm Myddelton, & Chriſto'fre Colyns, Will'm Clyfford, Mytton.

OFFICERS of armes; Garter, Norrey King of armes, Glouceſt'r herauld, Rugecroys, Ginez, & Harrington, p'ſu'nts.

ESQUIERS of houſhold; Thomas Mortymer, Dymok, Redmell, Delamer, Edmond Georgez.

YOMEN vſshers; Will'm Ryder, Roger Chelſale, George Cheyny, James Pemberton, w^t^ diuers & many yomen of the crown, and of his chambre & houſhold, whiche hylden torchez.

AND on the morn', aft' the comendacions, beganne the maſſe of our Lady, ſongen by the byſshop of Dureſm, at which maſſe Sir Thomas Bourgchier offred the maſſe peny, becauſe ther was no grett aſtate p'ſent, & aft hym alle other as wer in the herſe, &c.

AFTER that maſſe done, beganne the maſſe of the Trynyte ſongen by the biſshop of Lincoln, at which maſſe th'erle of Huntingdon offred the maſſe peny. Aft' hym the oder lords and noblez as aboue.

ATTE the begynnyng of the maſſe of Requiem, the whiche was ſongen by the archebiſshop of York, officers of armez wente to the veſtyary, wher they receyved a riche embrowdred cote of armes, which Garter king of armes hyld, w^t^ as grete reu'ence as he cowde, at the hede of the ſeid herſe till the offring tyme; at whiche tyme, aft' that the erle of Lincoln had offred the maſſe peny, he p'ſented it to the Marqueſs of Dors' & to th'erle of Huntingdon, they being to offre it; and the ſeid Gart' receyved it ageyn of the archebiſshop, and hyld it ſtille at the high auter ende till the maſſe was done.

IN likewyſe Clarenceux & Norrey kings of armes reſceyved the ſhilde, and at the offring tyme p'ſented it to the Lorde Maltrevers & to the Viſcount Berkeley; but ther was a queſtion whether the ſon & heir of an erle ſhuld go above a viſcount, &c.

Kings of Armes.

And Marche and Ireland reſceived a rich ſwerde whiche had be ſent from the Pope, & in like forme behaued themſelf, and p'ſented it to S' John & S' Thomas Bows', the kings aunt's ſonnez.

Also Cheſter & Leyceſter herauldes receyved a baſenet, w^t a riche crown of gold, and p'ſented it to the Lorde Stanley, and the Lorde Haſtings.

And Glouceſter & Bukingham, herauldes, w^t Rougecroſſe, Roſſe, Blanche, Caleys, Ginez, and Berwyk, and Harrington p'ſyu'nts, went w^t the knyghts & eſquiers for the body to the churche dore, for to reſceyve of John Cheyny maiſt' of the horſe, the man of armez, whiche was Sir Will'm Parr, armed at all peces, ſaving he was bareheded, having an axe in his hand, the polle downward, and thus accompanyed to the quere dore wher he did alight. And the dekyn toke the horſe, which was trapped w^t a riche trapper of the king's armez, wher the Lorde Audeley & the Lorde Ferrers receyved the man of armez, and with the forſeid compeny of knyghtes, eſquiers, heraulds, & purſyu'nts, accompenyed hym to his offring; whiche done, eu'y lorde in mornyng habits offred for hymſelf; and aft' them, diu'ſe other noble knyghts, officers, &c. Incontinent that don, the lordez offred certeyn clothes of gold to the corps, eu'yche aft his degree or aſtate; that is for to ſeye, th'erle of Lincoln iiii, becauſe he was the kings nevew, & ſon & heir of the Duc of Suff'. The Marques of Dorſ', iiii. Th'erle of Huntingdon, iii. The Lorde Matreuers, ii, becauſe he was the ſon and heir of th'erle of Arundell. The Viſcount Berkeley ii. W^m le Debat. Ev'ry baron & the other knyghts, moorners, becauſe of nyghneſſe of bloode.7. I cannot ordre how they offred becauſe the preſe of the people was ſo grete betwene them and me; but the lougheſt in eſtate or degree by to the corps beganne firſt. The namez of the barones & knyghts aforeſeid, the Lorde Stanley, the Lorde Haſtings, the

the Lorde Audeley, the Lorde Burgeyny, the Lorde Dudley, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lorde Fitz Hugh, the Lorde Delawar, the Lorde Morley, the Lorde Liſle, the Lorde Cobham, the Lorde Howard, the Lorde Wellez, & the Lorde Mountjoye, S' John of Arundell, &c.

LXI. *A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Burial of* Mary *Queen of* Scots.

Read June 15, 1769.

ON Sunday being the 30th of July, 1587, in the 29th year of the reign of Elizabeth, the queen's majeſtie of England, there went from Peterborough Maiſter Dethick, alias Garter principal king of armes, and five heralds, accompanied with forty horſe and men, to conduct the body of Mary*, late queen of Scots, from Fotheringham Caſtle in Northamptonſhire to Peterborough aforeſaid, which queen had remained priſoner in England 19 years; having for that purpoſe brought a royal coach, drawn by four horſes, and covered with black velvet richly ſet forth with eſcotcheons of the arms of Scotland, and little penons, round about it. The body being incloſed in lead, and the ſame coffined in wood, was brought down and reverently put into the coach, at which time the heralds put on their coates of armes, and bare-headed, with torches of light, brought the ſame forth of the caſtle, about ten of the clock at night, and ſo conveyed it to Peterborough. . . . . miles diſtant from Fotheringham caſtle; whither

* There is, in the *Hatfield* library, a curious original letter from *Patrick, Maſter* of *Gray*, ſecretary to king James I, dated December 9th, 1601, relating to the death of this unfortunate princeſs, vindicating queen *Elizabeth* and Mr. ſecretary *Cecil*, from bieng privy to that tranſaction. That part of the letter relating thereto runs thus: "Of one thing I am ſorie, that your Matie ſhould ſpeak ſo hardly of Mr. Secretary *Cecil*; "for that ye alledg my Lord his Father couttit your mother's throt. I am aſſurit your Matie knoweth "that I know more in that nor any Scottiſh or Engliſh living, the queen acceptit: and wherefore do I re-"member your Matie of a note I gave you in that maiter: that the earl of Leiceſter, or Sir Francis Walſing-"ham wer only the coutters of her throt, and inducers of *Darnley* to doe what he did. I take on my con-"ſcience that it was fare from the queen, or his father's mynd that ſche ſhould dye when ſche dyed, as I have "yet ſome witneſſing in the world."

being

being come (about two of the clock on the Monday morning) the body was received moſt reverently at the minſter door of Peterborough, by the biſhop, dean and chapter, and Clarenceux king of armes; and, in the preſence of the Scots which came with the ſame, it was laid in a vault prepared for the ſame, in the quire of the ſaid church, on the South ſide, oppoſite to the tomb of Queen Katharine dowager of Spayne, the firſt wife of King Henry the Eighth. The occaſion why the body was forthwith layd into the vault, and not borne in the ſolemnitie, was becauſe it was ſo extreme heavy by reaſon of the lead, that the gentlemen could not endure to have carryed it with leiſure in the ſolemn proceeding; and beſides it was feared that the ſowder might ripp, and being very hot weather, might be found ſome annoyance.

On Tueſday, being the firſt of Auguſt, in the morning, about eight of the clock, the chief mourner, being the Counteſs of Bedford, was attended upon by all the lords and ladies, and brought into the preſence chamber within the biſhop's palace, which all over was hanged with black cloth. She was by the queen's maſties gentlemen uſhers placed ſomewhat under a cloth of eſtate of purple velvet, where, having given to the great officers their ſtaves of office, viz. to the lord ſteward, lord chamberlayne, the treaſurer, and comptroller, ſhe took her way into the great hall where the corps ſtood; and the heralds having marſhalled the ſeveral companies, they made their proceedings as followeth:

Two conductors in black, with black ſtaves.

Poor women mourners to the number of 100. 2 and 2.

Two yeomen harvengers.

The ſtandard of Scotland borne by Sir George Savill, knight.

Gentlemen in clokes to the number of 50, being attendants on the lords and ladyes.

Six grooms of the chamber, viz. Mr. . . . Eaton, Mr. . . . Byke, Mr. . . . Ceavaval, Mr. . . . Flynt, Mr. . . . Charlton, Mr. . . . Lylle.

Three

Three gentlemen ſewers to the queen's majeſty, Mr. Horſeman, Mr. Fynes, and Mr. Martin.
Gentlemen in gownes, Mr. Worme, Mr. Holland, Mr. Crewſte, Mr. Watſon, Mr. Allington, Mr. Darrell, and Mr. Feſcue.
Scots in clokes, 17 in number.
A Scotiſh prieſt.
Mr. Forteſcue, maſter of the wardrobe to the queen's majeſtie.
The biſhop of Peterborough.
The biſhop of Lincoln.
The great banner, borne by Sir Andrew Nowell, knight.
The comptroller, Mr. Melvin.
The treaſurer, Sir Edward Montague.
The lord chamberlayne was Lord Dudley.
The lord ſteward was Lord St. John of Baſting.
Two uſhers.

Atchievements of honor borne by heralds.
- The helme and creſt borne by Portcullis.
- target, borne by York.
- ſword, borne by Rouge Dragon.
- coat, borne by Somerſet.

Clarencieux king of armes, with a gentleman uſher, Mr. Conyngſbye.

The corps borne by eſquires, in clokes.
- Mr. Francis Forteſcue.
- Mr. William Forteſcue.
- Mr. Thomas Stafford.
- Mr. Nicholas Smith.
- Mr. Nicholas Hyde.
- Mr. . . . . Howlands, the biſhop's brother.

Eight bannerolles, borne by eſquires:
1. King Robert impaling Drummond, by Mr. William Fitz-Williams.
2. King James the 1ſt impaling Beaufort, } by Mr. Griffin of Dingley.
3. Guelders,

3. Guelders, by Mr. Robert Wingfield.
4. King James 3d impaling Denmark, by Mr. Bevill.
5. King James 4th impaling the arms of Henry 7th of England, } by Mr. Lynne.
6. King James 5th impaling Guys, by Mr. John Wingfield.
7. King of France impaling the arms of Mary queen of Scotland, } by Mr. Spencer.
8. Lord Darnley impaling the arms of Mary queen of Scotland, } by Mr. John Forteſcue of Aywood.

The canopy, being of black velvet fringed with gold, borne by four knights, viz.

Sir Thomas Manners.
Sir George Haſtings.
Sir James Harrington.
Sir Richard Knightly.

Aſſiſtants to the body, four barons, which bore up the corners of the pall of velvet.

The Lord Mordant.
The Lord Willoughby of Parham.
The Lord Compton.
Sir Thomas Cecill.

Mr. Garter, with the gentleman uſher Mr. Brakenbury.

The Counteſſe of Bedford, ſupported by the Earls of Rutland, and Lincolne, her train borne up by the Lady St. John of Baſting, and aſſiſted by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlain.

The Counteſſe of Rutland, Counteſſe of Lincolne.
The Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savell.
The Lady Mordant, the Lady St. John of Bletſhoe.
The Lady Manners, the Lady Cecill.
The Lady Montague, the Lady Nowell.
Mrs. Alington, Mrs. Curle.

Two

Two uſhers.

Eight Scottiſh gentlewomen.

The gentlewomen of Counteſs's and Baroneſs's, according to their degrees, all in black.

Servants in black coates.

The Counteſſe of Bedford,	10.
Counteſſe of Rutland,	8.
Counteſſe of Lincoln,	8.
Lady St. John of Baſing,	5.
All lords and ladyes,	5.
All knights and their wives	4.
All eſquires,	1.

THE body being thus brought into the quire, was ſet down within the royal herſe, which was 20 feet ſquare, and 27 feet in height, covered over with black velvet, and richly ſet with eſcutcheons of armes and fringe of gold; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvet, lay a purple cuſhion, fringed and taſſeled with gold, and upon the ſame a cloſe crown of gold ſet with ſtones: after the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the ſermon was begun by the biſhop of Lincoln; after which certain anthems were ſung by the quire, and the offering began very ſolemnly as followeth:

The Offering.

Firſt, the chief mourner offered for the queen, attended upon by all the ladyes. The coat, ſword, target, and helme, was ſeverally carried up by the two Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, one after another, and received by the biſhop of Peterborough, and Mr. Garter king at arms.

The ſtandard alone.

The great banner alone.

The lady chief mourner alone.

The trayne-bearer alone.

The two earles together.

The lord ſteward,
The lord chamberlaine,
The biſhop of Lincolne alone.
The four lords aſſiſtants to the body.
The treaſurer, comptroller, and vice-chamberlaine.
The four knights that bore the canopy.

In which offeringe every courſe was led up by a herald, for the more order; after which, the two biſhops and the dean of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funeral ſervice; which being ſaid, every officer broke his ſtaff over his head, and threw the ſame into the vault to the body; and ſo every one departed, as they came, after their degrees, to the biſhop's palace, where was prepared a moſt royal feaſt, and a dole given unto the poore.

LXII. *Obſer-*

LXII. *Obſervations on the Wardrobe Account for the Year* 1483; *wherein are contained the Deliveries made for the Coronation of King* Richard *the* Third, *and ſome other Particulars relative to the Hiſtory of that Monarch: by the Reverend Doctor* Milles, *Dean of* Exeter, *Preſident of the Society.*

Read March 8, 1770.

IT is a misfortune generally attendant on the earlier periods of Hiſtory, that they want thoſe original and authentic records which are neceſſary to tranſmit facts and characters of men in a juſt and impartial light to poſterity.

THIS is ſuppoſed to have been the caſe with reſpect to king Richard III; for although the contemporary hiſtorians of our own [*a*] and other kingdoms [*b*] have charged him with a com-

[*a*] Arnold, who lived in 1519, publiſhed an Account of the Cuſtoms of London, with a Chronicle of the Magiſtrates of that city; where, under the year 1483, he has the following obſervation, expreſſing, in very deſcriptive words, the manner of the young prince's death. "This year deceſſyd the Kynge in Aprell, entring "into the 23d yere of his regne; *and the two ſons of Kynge Edward were put to* "*ſilence*, and the Duke of Glouceſter tooke upon him the crowne in July," &c.

[*b*] Philip de Comines ſays of Richard the IIId, "Tantoſt apres le Roy Ed-"ward fut mort, le Roy notre maitre en fut adverti, & n'en feit nulle joie, ne "ſemblant quand il le ſceut, & peu de jours apres receut lettres de Duc de Glou-"ceſtre, qui s'etoit fait Roy d'Angleterre, & ſe ſignoit *Richard lequel avoit fait* "*mourir les deux fils du Roy Edouard ſon frere.* Lequel Roy Richard requeroit "l'amitie du Roy, & croy qu'il eut bien voulu ravoir ceſte penſion; mais le Roi ne "vouloit repondre a ſes lettres, n'ouir le meſſage, & l'eſtima tres cruel & mauvais; "car apres le treſpas du Roy Edward, le dict Duc de Gloceſtre avoit fait hom-"mage a ſon neveu, comme a ſon Roi & ſouverain Seigneur, & incontinent apres "commit ce cas"—Livre vi. chap. 9. Hall gives the ſame account in his Life of Richard III. p. 2.

plication of the moſt atrocious crimes; yet Mr. Buck, fired with a zeal for the houſe of York, and for the honour of that king, (in whoſe ſervice his anceſtor, Sir John Buck, fought in Boſworth Field, and afterwards loſt his head for it at Leiceſter [c]), has profeſſedly undertaken to apologize for Richard's character, and, where he could not exculpate him, has taken uncommon pains to extenuate his guilt.

THE ingenious author of Hiſtoric Doubts on that reign has lately trod the ſame ground; endeavouring to ſtrengthen Mr. Buck's arguments, and inſinuating, that many of the crimes imputed to that prince are to be charged rather to the malevolence and rancour of the Lancaſtrian party, than to the demerit of his own conduct. The public, poſſeſſed of almoſt every argument that can be produced for or againſt that king's character, will judge impartially on the credit of the hiſtorians on one hand, and on the weight of the objections on the other.

THE preſent obſervations are confined to one of theſe facts—the ſuppoſed murder of Edward V, and of his brother the duke of York. The circumſtances which corroborate this fact are drawn from the fierce and haughty diſpoſition of that prince, his artful and ambitious temper, and the ſteps which he took both to obtain and preſerve the crown.

THE ſecrecy of this murder, to which only the few perpetrators and accomplices were privy, muſt have left the public under great uncertainty as to the manner, though they had no doubt as to the reality of the fact. In ſuch circumſtances, abſurd and even contradictory reports would ariſe concerning the ſurvival and eſcape of theſe princes: Had they prevailed during the lifetime of their uncle, would it not have been juſtly preſumed that they were raiſed and propagated by him as the beſt expedient

[c] See his Life of Richard III. Kennet's Col. vol. I. p. 545.

for

for removing the ſuſpicion of their murder? But as they ſeem to have obtained chiefly at the beginning of his ſucceſſor's reign, may they not more probably be imputed to the enemies of the houſe of Lancaſter, in order to pave the way for thoſe impoſtures which they afterwards played off with ſo much artifice againſt king Henry VII.

UNFORTUNATELY, the two antient hiſtorians produced by the apologiſts to invalidate the poſitive account of this murder, though reporting only common hearſay, do nevertheleſs contradict each other in that very report. Polydore Vergil, an hiſtorian of no great authority or credit, ſays, *In vulgus fama valuit, filios Edwardi Regis aliquâ terrarum parte migraſſe, atque ita ſuperſtites eſſe* [*d*]: But the continuator of the Croyland Hiſtory, a contemporary writer of more conſideration, tells a very different ſtory: *Vulgatum eſt, dictos Regis Edwardi pueros (quo genere* VIOLENTI *interitus ignoratur) deceſſiſſe in fata* [*e*]. It is obſervable, that both the apologiſts have omitted the word VIOLENTI in their quotation of this paſſage, though it is a moſt expreſſive and material part of that author's teſtimony, and gives a very different complexion to it; for, if they died a violent death, there can remain no doubt by whoſe order it was inflicted [*f*].

THE impartial reader of our Engliſh Hiſtory will judge how far the account given of the death of thoſe two princes is invalidated.

[*d*] Hiſt. l. ii. cap. vi.

[*e*] Gale's Hiſt. Angl. Script. tom. I. p. 568.

[*f*] The Croyland continuator, ſpeaking of the removal of the princes to the Tower, mentions a piece of advice given at that time by ſome who were then in the Sanctuary, that the daughters of King Edward ſhould be ſent abroad in diſguiſe. *Ut ſiquid dictis Maſculis humanitus in Turre contigerit, nihilominus per ſalvandas perſonas filiarum, Regnum ad veros rediret haeredes*, p. 567. Mr. Walpole ſuppoſes this advice to have been given after Richard's coronation at York, referring the beginning of the next ſentence, *interim, et dum haec agerentur*, to that which was only the laſt of many events mentioned in the preceding paragraph, wherein he deſcribes the ſeveral previous ſteps taken by Richard III, to uſurp the throne; nor does that author mention the report concerning the princes death till ſome ſentences afterwards.

lidated by the relation of Perkin Warbeck; and whether that ſtrange tale did not gain more converts, and receive more credibility, from the natural jealouſy and the affected myſterious ſecrecy of Henry VII, [*g*] than from the weight of its own evidence. I ſhall therefore proceed to a fact univerſally acknowledged to be true, though the evidence for it is not certain—that both the princes were alive at the time of Richard's firſt coronation: His jealouſy and vengeance muſt have been haſty indeed, had he not ſpared their lives for nine days only, the period between his aſſuming the throne, and his coronation.

THE author of Hiſtoric Doubts ſuppoſes that Richard had no ſuch evil intention againſt his nephews on his acceſſion to the crown, and that, inſtead of putting them to death, he meant to do honour to the eldeſt, by aſſigning him a reſpectable place, and robes of dignity, at the ceremony of his coronation, ſo remarkable for its ſplendor and magnificence. This fact is inferred from a record ſuppoſed to be the Coronation Roll of that King, now preſerved in the office of the Great Wardrobe [*b*]; wherein many magnificent and royal robes are ſaid to have been delivered for *the Lord Edward, ſonne of King Edward the IVth*; which that ingenious author ſuppoſes would not have been iſſued for any other purpoſe but for his appearance at that ſolemnity: but if his ſurpriſe was great at the ſight of ſuch an entry, how much greater muſt be that of his readers at the concluſion he has drawn from it! The juſtice due to hiſtory, and to the characters of princes,

[*g*] Lord Bacon ſays, "All this time it was ſtill whiſpered every where, that "at leaſt one of the children of Edward IV, was living; which bruit was cun-"ningly fomented by ſuch as deſired innovation; neither was the king's nature "and cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe miſts, but contrariwiſe he had a faſhion "rather to create doubts, than aſſurance." Life of Henry VII, in Kennet's Collection, vol I. p. 583.

[*b*] From which I have had the opportunity of extracting the following account, by the favour of Mr. Chamberlain, the keeper of that record, whoſe civility on this occaſion deſerves a particular acknowledgment.

entitle

entitle the public to a true ſtate of that fact, an explanation of which cannot be unacceptable to one, who has taken ſo much pains to inſtruct, as well as to amuſe his readers.

THE record to which he refers is not a Coronation Roll, but a Wardrobe account, of which the deliveries for the coronation make a conſiderable part. It will be neceſſary to quote ſeveral paſſages of this record, in order to explain the nature of it, and to judge of the evidence it contains. It bears the following title:

" PARTICULE computi Petri Courteys cuſtodis magne gar-
" derobe D'ni n'ri Regis, nunc D'ni Ric'di Regis Anglie tercii,
" tam de omnibus et ſingulis denar' ſummis p'r ipſum receptis
" et habitis, ac de omnibus et ſingulis emptionibus et proviſioni-
" bus ſtuffur' quam de omnibus et omnimodis ſolutionibus, ex-
" pencis et liberationibus ſtuffurarum, ac denariorum ſummis,
" p'r ipſum ſimiliter factis et habitis in officio predicto; videlicet
" a nono die Aprilis, Ann' D'ni 1483, uſque feſtum purifica-
" tionis beate Marie verginis proxime ſequent'; ſcil' p'r 298 dies,
" facientes 3 quarter et 25 dies."

THE indenture prefixed to this account bearing date " June-
" 27th, in the firſt year of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde
" Kynge Richard the IIId, witneſſeth, that Piers Courteys, the
" King's Wardrober, hathe taken upon him to purvey by the 3d
" day of Juyell next coming, the parcells enſying agaynſt the
" coronation of our Sovereign Lorde." All which articles it would have been impoſſible for him to have provided in ſo ſhort a time, had not the greateſt part of theſe preparations been already made for the coronation of Edward V.

THE ſubſtance of the book (for it is not in the form of a roll) contains all the receipts and iſſues of the wardrobe during the period above-mentioned, beginning with an account " of the
" ferme and rents of all the manſions, tenements and ſhoppes
" belonging

"belonging unto the ſame grete wardrobe," which then amounted to the annual ſum of 10*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* [*i*].

THIS account is followed by a detail of the parcels of drapery and woollen cloth [*k*]; peltry [*l*] and ſkinnery; mercery [*m*]; of divers things [*n*] bought within the time of this account [*o*]; the parcels [*p*] of the office of the ſtable and cellary, in which are mentioned, *a ſadel coverd with blac velvet made of ſtel, and nine hors harneys coverd with blue velvet*, which appear in the ſubſequent pages to have been part of king Edward's furniture. Then follow [*q*] "the expences neceſſarie made and done within the "time of this accompt," containing, the wages of ſemſtreſſes, taylors, and other handicrafts men, working in the ſaid wardrobe about making robes and garments. In ſome of theſe articles we may obſerve the fondneſs which Richard had for the *Boar*, his creſt. One of them contains [*r*] a charge "*for* 8000 "*bores made and wrought upon fuſtain, at* 20*s. per thouſand* [*s*]." Another article ſhews what diſpatch was required in theſe preparations.

[*i*] Page 7, b. [*k*] Page 10, a. [*l*] Page 13, a.
[*m*] Page 18, b. [*n*] Page 33, b.

[*o*] In the mercery account, the ſcarlet cloth is charged from 8*s.* to 16*s.* and 8*d.* per yard; the cloth engrayne from 10*s.* to 13*s.* cloth of divers colours from 2*s.* and 2*d.* to 6*s.* the yard; and the ray cloth uſed in covering the floor for the proceſſion, of which there were 5488 ſtaves, from 2*d* to 3*d.* per ſtave.

In the peltry account, the ermine coſt from 20*s.* to 40*s.* each tymbre; the tymbre contained 40 ſkins. The backs at 21 or 22*d.* the members or bellies of ermine at 6*s.* and 8*d.* There were ſeveral other kinds of furr, and 68,701 powderings made of bogy ſhanks, at 20*s* per thouſand. Amongſt the mercery articles, the velvet coſt from 9*s.* and 4*d.* to 26*s.* the yard. Cloths of gold, from 33*s.* to 4*l.* the yard. Silk damaſk at 8*s.* per yard. Satyn of ſilk from 8*s.* to 13*s.* per yard. Hoſen 4*s.* the pair. Shoes of Spaniſh leather double ſoled and ſlops, 8*d.* per pair. Shoes of black leather, and ſlops of the ſame kind, 6*d.* Long ſpurs, parcel gilt, 13*s.* 4*d.* Short ſpurs, 6*s.* Black ſpurs, 16*d.*

[*p*] Page 40, a. [*q*] Page 54, a. [*r*] Page 23, b.
[*s*] And 5000 more are mentioned in the general accounts, pag. 31. b.

"YEVEN

"YEVEN unto divers ſkinners, by way of reward for theyre "good and haſty expedition of theyre worke, 11 *s.* and 8 *d.* [*t*]." The account ſpecifies likewiſe reparations done to the office [*u*]. The penſions, fees, and rewards, paid by them [*w*]. Stuff [*x*] remaining at the end of the laſt account, after the burying of Edward IV, [*y*]; the foreign account of ſtuff [*z*], and the total receipt of ſtuff [*a*].

THEN follow the ſeveral iſſues made by the wardrobe on the king's account, under this title [*b*]:

"THE deliveree of ſtuff delivered to for and ayeanſt the grete "ſolemnnitee of the mooſt noble coronations, as well of oure "Soverayne Lord King Richard the Thirde, as of oure So- "verayne Lady the Queene, as hereafter ſeverally is noted and "ſpecyfyed in two divers places."

THIS double entry contains, firſt, a particular account of the ſeveral robes, garments, with their linings, &c. deſcribing the ſubſtance, colour, and quantity of each, which are entered in one column; and in another, oppoſite to it, are ſpecified the total quantities of every kind of materials employed in thoſe articles.

[*t*] Page 58, a.
[*u*] Page 61, b.
[*w*] Page 62, a.
[*x*] It appears, that a yearly penſion of 40 *s.* was paid by the Wardrobe Office to the parſon of Saint Andrew's, at Baynard Caſtle, "as by reaſon of the old "Graunte of King Edward the Thirde it hath been accuſtomed," that is to witt, by 296 days, after the rate of 1 *d.* *q.* by the day.—Piers Courteys's ſalary, as keeper of the Wardrobe, was 20 *l.* per ann.
[*y*] Page 66, a.
[*z*] Page 67, a.
[*a*] Page 69, a.
[*b*] Page 79, a.

The particulars begin thus:

" To our ſaid Soverayne Lord the Kyng for his apparaill, the " vigil afore the day of his mooſt noble Coronation, for to ride in " from his Toure of London, unto his Palays of Weſtminſter; a " doublet made of two yerds and a quarter and a half of blue " clothe of gold, wroght with netts and pvne-apples, with a ſto- " macher of the ſame lined with oon ell of Holland cloth, and " oon ell of buſk, inſtede of green cloth of gold,—and a longe " gown for to ryde in, made of eight yerds of p'pul velvet, furred " with eight tymbres and half and 13 bakks of ermyn, and 4 " tymbres, 17 wombes of ermyns, powdered with 3300 of pow- " derings made of bogy ſhanks, and a payre of ſhort ſpurs all " gilt."

After this account is the following entry [*c*]:

" DELIVERED unto Thomas Tyrrell, *occupying the office of* " *maiſter of the king's horſe*; for to cover with a ſadell and harneys " for the king's own perſon, a ſadelle, and a harneys for his ſword " berer, and a hakeney ſadelle and harneys thereto, all three " ſaddels and harneys covered in 13 yerds of crymſyn cloth of " gold wroght with nets of roſes, agenſt the time that the king " ſhould take poſſeſſion of his courts at Weſtminſter;—and to " cover with a ſadel, and a ſadell of aſtate, all covered in three " yerds and 3-4ths of rede clothe of golde, wrought with nets, " ayenſt the coronation: and to cover with ſeven courſers ſadelles, " 15 yerds and a quarter and half of crymſyn velvet, &c.

" To our ſaid ſoverayne Lord the King, for to have the ſame " vigile afore the day of his moſt noble coronation, for his ſeven " Henxemen, the ſaide ſeven ſaddeles covered in crymſyn velvet, " &c. [*d*]"

" ALSO for their apparell; ſeven doublets made of 15 yards " and 3-4ths of crymſyn ſatyn lined, &c.—Seven gownes made

[*c*] Page 80, b.
[*d*] Page, 81, b.

" of

" of ſeven half gownes of white clothe of gold [*e*]." May it not be inferred that the half gowns, here ſaid to be converted by Richard into long gowns, were originally deſigned for Edward's coronation, eſpecially as this is the ſole article wanting in this account to make the apparel of Edward's Henxemen correſpondent with that of Richard's.

THE next pages ſpecify the ſeveral royal robes, garments, &c. which were to be uſed in the ceremony of the king's coronation.

THE delivery of robes on the morn after that ſolemnity was as follows [*f*]:

" To our ſaid ſouverain lorde the kyng, for to have unto his " mooſt honourable uſe the morne after his mooſt noble coro- " nation.

" A LONGE gown made of 8 yerds and 1-4th of crymſyn cloth " of gold, wroght with droops, lyned with 7 yerds and a half " of grene damaſk;—a long gown maade of 8 yerds, and 3-4ths " and a half of crymſyn cloth of gold chekked, lyned with 8 " yerds 3-4ths and 3 nailles of grene ſatyn;—a long gown made " of 8 yerds and a half and half a quarter of p'pul ſatyn, lyned " with 8 yerds and a half of white cloth of gold;—a ſhorte gowne " made of 3 yerds and a quarter of p'pul velvet lyned with 3 " yerds and 3-4ths of plunket clothe of gold [*g*]; a plakert maade " of half a yerd and half a quarter of blac velvet, lyned with half " a yerd and half a quarter of white damaſk;—a doublett made of " 2 yerds and half a quarter of grene ſatyn, lyned with oon elle " of holland cloth;—a long gown maade of 8 yerds and half of " p'pul velvet lyned with 8 yerds and half of p'pul ſatyn;—a long " gown of p'pul cloth of gold, wroght with gartiers and rooſes, " of the gift of our Soverain Lady the Quene, lyned with 8 yerds " of white damaſk.

[*e*] Page 82, b.
[*f*] Page 89, b.
[*g*] Page 90, a.

" To ſeven of oure ſayde Souverain Lorde the Kyng's Henge-
" men [*b*], that is to wit: The lord Morley, Thomas Dacre, John
" Beaumont, John Barkley, Edward Welles, Thomas Paton, and
" John Croft, for theire apparail ayenſt the day of the grete ſo-
" lemnitee of the moſt noble coronation of our ſaide Soveraine
" Lorde the King:

" SEVEN doubletts maade of 15 yerds and 3-4ths of grene ſatyn;
" 7 long gowns maade of 41 yerds and a half of crymſyn velvet,
" lyned with 26 yerds and a half of white ſarſnet; 8 black bon-
" nets; 8 pair of hoſen, &c. And to everiche of theyme, and
" alſo their maiſter, 2 paire of ſhoon, 2 paire of ſlops, 8 pair of
" botews of Spaynyſh leder among theyme."

PAGE 92, contains an account of ſtuffe delivered for the grete ſolemnitee of the moſt noble coronation of our Soverain Lady the Quene, the vigil before the ſame, and after. Her majeſty was conveyed in great pomp that evening from the Tower of London to Weſtminſter, in a litter richly adorned, borne by two courſers, and attended by ſeven ladies on horſeback, and five hengemen, who rode in womens ſaddles covered with crimſon cloth of gold, as appears by the following entry:

" To five Hengemen of oure ſaide Soveraine Lady the Quene,
" rydyng in the ſaide five women's ſaddelles covered with crym-
" ſyn cloth of gold; after the Quene rydyng in her litter the
" vigile afore the day of her mooſte noble coronation, from the
" Towre of London unto the Palays of Weſtminſter, for their
" apparel and array; five doublets maade of 8 yerds and 1-4th of
" crymſyn ſatyn;—five ſhort gownes made of 18 yerds and 3-4ths
" of blue velvet, &c."

AGAINST the day of the coronation, the hengemen had five doubletts made of 10 yerds and 3-4ths of grene ſatyn;—five long

[*b*] An old Engliſh name for a page, or rather an equerry, derived from the Saxon word ȝengeſt, which ſignifies a horſe.

gownes

gownes maade of 28 yerds quarter and half of crymſyn velvet, lyned with 23 yerds of white ſarſnet [*i*].

THE article relating to Lady Brigitt is added to the foregoing ones [*k*]:

" To the Lady Brygitt, oon of the daughters of Kyng Ed-
" ward the IVth, beying ſeeke, in the ſaid Wardrobe for to have
" for here uſe, two long pillowes of fuſtian ſtuffed with downe,
" and two pilloweberes of holland clothe unto theyme."

FROM which entry I infer, not that the princeſs was ſick in the Wardrobe, but (according to the ſtile of that Record) that being ſick, ſhe was to have thoſe pillows *in* or *from* the ſaid Wardrobe. This entry is a further proof that the Wardrobe Record did not relate ſolely to the coronation.

THE next page [*l*] gives an account " of the liverees of cloth-
" ing and lynings delivered ayenſt the coronation, as well unto
" the lords ſpiritual and temporal, as to other divers perſons here-
" after named and ſpecified." Theſe liveries were either of ſcarlet or red cloth, and contained more or fewer yards according to the dignity of the ſeveral perſonages. The archbiſhop of Canterbury had 18 yards of ſcarlet lined with green damaſk; the biſhops of Durham and Bath 16 yards each; thoſe of London, Exeter, St. Aſſe, and the Lord Privy Seal, 12 yards; the Lord Treaſurer of England, and the Maſter of the Great Wardrobe, 10 yards each; the Chief Juſtices, the Judges of the King's Courts, and three Serjeants at Law, had 7 yards each; the King's Attorney, 5 yards; the Treaſurer of the Houſhold and Secretary to the King, 6 yards; the Comptroller of the Houſe, 4 yards; the Queen's Carver, 7 yards; divers other officers, 3 yards; and the inferior ones 3 yards each of red cloth. The offices of Treaſurer and Comptroller ſeem to have been then vacant.

[*i*] Page 79, b.
[*k*] Page 98, a.
[*l*] Page 99, b.

AT page 103, we have "the delivery of ſcarlet unto divers "aſtates of Ladyes, and unto divers Gentilwomen, for the Co- "ronation of the Queen; theſe were the Ducheſs of Suffolk; "three Ducheſſes of Norfolk; the Counteſſes of Richmond, Sur- "rey, and Nottingham; the Ladies Lovell, Fitzburgh the elder "and the younger; Scrope of Maſham and Mountjoy; five Dames "of honour, and four Gentlewomen," all of whom probably belonged to her majeſty's houſhold, or had ſome particular office aſſigned to them at the coronation. "The Ducheſſes had 14 "yards of ſcarlet, the Counteſſes 10, the Ladies 8, and the Dames "and Gentlewomen, 7 yards each. The Treaſurer of England, "and Maſter of the Wardrobe, had alſo 10 yards each on this "account."

THEN follows [*m*] "the deliveree of divers clothes of gold and "of ſilke, delivered unto divers aſtates of Ladies and Gentilwo- "men of divers degrees, of the Kyng's eſpecyal gift, by his high "commandement, by the advis of his mooſt honourable coun- "ſaille, ayenſt the ſaid mooſte noble coronation of oure ſaide "Souveraine Lady the Quene." Theſe are the ſame perſons to whom ſcarlet had been delivered in the preceding articles. The robes of the five Ducheſſes and of the Counteſs of Richmond conſiſted of two gowns made each of 6 yards of different coloured velvet, lined with the ſame quantity of different coloured cloth of gold: the gowns of the other Ladies and Dames were of velvet lined either with ſattin or damaſk; and they ſeem by the title to have been deliveries out of the uſual courſe, in order to increaſe the ſplendor and magnificence of that ceremony; and of the like nature is the following article at the end of theſe deliveries:

"To many divers perſons, for to have in haſte, by my Lorde "of Bukkingham's commandement, whoſe names were not re- "membered, delivered in grete [*n*]."

[*m*] Page 105, a.
[*n*] Page 109, a.

THEN

THEN follows an account of the garments for *Lord Edward and his Hengemen*, ſpecifying in one column the ſort and quantity of ſtuff contained in each; and in another the totals of the ſtuff, under the following running title [*o*]: " Yit the deliveree of " divers ſtuffe delivered for the uſe of Lorde Edward, ſon of late " Kyng Edward IV, and his Hengemen.

" To Lorde Edward ſon of late Kyng Edward IV, for his ap- " parill and array; that is to ſay, a ſhorte gowne made of two " yerds and three quarters of crymſyn clothe of gold, lyned with " two yerds three quarter of blac velvet;—a long gowne made of " ſix yerds and a half of crymſyn clothe of gold, lyned with ſix " yerds of grene damaſk;—a ſhorte gowne made of two yerds three " quarters of p'pull velvet, lyned with two yerds and a half of " blac ſatyn;—a doublet and ſtomacher made of two yerds of " blac ſatyn;—a ryding gowne made of two yerds three quarters " of blue velvet, lyned with two yerds and three quarters of blac " ſatyn;—a long gowne and a half gowne maade of ten yerds and " a half of blue velvett, lyned with ten yerds and a half of blac " ſatyn;—a doublet maade of a yerd and three quarters of grene " ſatyn;—a long gowne maade of ſix yerds and a half of purpul " velvett, lyned with ſix yerds and a half of ruſſet ſatyn;—a long " gowne maade of ſix yerds and a half of blue velvet, lyned with " ſix yerds and a half of blac ſatyn;—a doublet made of a yerde " three quarters of blac ſatyn; nine [*p*] hors harneys, and nine " ſadell houſes, all made of 36 yerds of blue velvet, and two " paire [*q*] of hoſen made of a yerde and a quarter of broode " meighlyn blac;" with ſeveral other ſmaller articles which it is needleſs to inſert.

" To the Hengemen of the ſaid Lord Edward, for their appa- " raill and array; ſeven gownes maade of 10 yerds and three

[*o*] Page 109, a.

[*p*] Charged in the Parcels of the Stable, page 41, b. price of each 10*s*.

[*q*] This article is charged in the Parcels of Drapery bought, page 11, b. and coſt 13*s*. and 4*d*. the yard.

" quarters

" quarters of grene clothe of gold, and 11 yerds and a half of " white cloth of gold, and ſeven doublets maade of 15 yerds of " blac damaſk; eight gownes and eight hoods of blac clothe, " made of 20 yerds and 3-4ths of blac cloth, &c."

At page 111, is " the deliveree of divers clothes of gold and " ſilk, delivered by the Kyng's high commandement, of his " eſpecial gift, unto the aſtates of lordes and worſhipfull knights " and others divers perſons, ayenſt the ſaid mooſte noble coro- " nation of our ſaide ſoverayne Lady the Quene." The perſons to whom theſe were given, were the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Scroope of Bolton, Lord of Audeley, Sir Thomas Saintleger, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir Thomas Borough, Sir Robert Dymock the King's Champion, Sir Edmond Haſtyngs, Sir John Middleton, John Cheyney, William Cateſby, and the Earl of Surrey; amongſt theſe the Duke of Buckingham, who ſtands firſt, is thus particularly diſtinguiſhed: " To the Duke of Bukkingham, by " the King's high commandment, having chief rule and diviſing " of the ordenaunce for oure ſaide Soverayne Lorde the King's " mooſte noble Coronation, for to have of his eſpecyal gift, eight " yerds of blue cloth of gold, wrought with droops, and eight " yerds of blac velvet, and 12 yerds of velvet." The other perſonages, who probably had particular offices at the court, had ſeven yards either of velvet, ſatyn, damaſk, or camlet; John Cheyne alone had cloth of ſilver. This paragraph ſeems to conclude the account of deliveries for the firſt Coronation.

The next article, page 114, contains, " Stuffe delivered after " and between the mooſt noble Coronations of oure ſayde So- " verayne Lorde the King, and oure ſayde Soverayne Lady the " Queene, unto theyre mooſt noble uſes, and unto the uſes of " other divers perſons by the King's high commandment, and " the feeſte of the purificatyon of our Ladye Saynt Marye the " Virgine." Theſe are the common and neceſſary garments iſſued from the wardrobe for the king's own uſe.

THEN follows an account of robes for the king when he was to hold his parliament[r]; amongſt theſe is mentioned, "A "ſaddel for the Prynce ayenſt his creation [s];" and in the next page, the name of Sir James Tyrell firſt occurs, as actually Maſter of the horſe to the King:

"To Sir James Tyrell Knight [t], Maiſter of the hors of oure "ſayde Soverayne Lorde the Kyng, for to have unto his ſaide "office, to and for oure ſaid Soverayne Lord the King's uſe, re-"ceyved by the hands of John Friſley, clerc of the office of the "ſtable of oure ſayde Soverayne Lorde the King, the parcells of "ſtuffe noted and ſpecified in the innere margyns here; to be "employed and expended unto the King's mooſte honourable uſe "att the tymes neceſſary and requiſite:" which parcells he is ſaid in the following leaf to have for the King's ſtore.

THE following article, page 121, ſhews that Sir James Tyrell was Maſter of the King's Hengemen at that time.

"To ſeven Hengemen of oure ſaid ſoverayne Lord the Kynge, "and to Sir James Tyrell theyre Maiſter, for theyre apparail and "array ayenſt the noble creation of my Lorde Prynce, at the "King's Citee of Yorke, &c." to witt, 36 ells of Holland cloth, &c.

THE remaining part of this book contains [u] the total iſſue and delivery of all the ſtuff mentioned in the preceding pages, and ſtuff remaining at the end of this account [w].

THIS circumſtantial deſcription of the Wardrobe Record is not without its curioſity and uſefulneſs, as it ſhews the nature of that record, and deſcribes particularly the royal robes and garments; which, being compared with thoſe allotted to the Lord Edward, plainly point out both the time and the uſes for which theſe latter were iſſued.

[r] Page 116, a.
[s] Page 118, a.
[t] Page 119, a.
[u] Page 125, a.
[w] Page 133, a.

I SHALL therefore preſent them under one view, in two oppoſite columns:

GARMENTS for King RICHARD.	GARMENTS for Lord EDWARD.
For the Cavalcade from the Tower to Weſtminſter, on the vigil of his coronation.	
1. A long gown to ride in, of purple velvet lined with ermyn.	1. A riding gown of blue velvet lined with blue ſattin.
2. A doublet and ſtomacher of blue cloth of gold.	2. A doublet and ſtomacher of blue ſattin.
Robes on the morn after his Coronation.	
3. Two long gowns of crimſon cloth of gold, one lined with green damaſk, the other with green ſattin.	3. A long and a ſhort gown of crimſon cloth of gold, one lined with green damaſk, the other with black velvet.
4. A long gown of purple ſattin lined with white cloth of gold.	4. A long gown of blue velvet lined with blue ſattin.
5. A long gown of purple velvet lined with purple ſattin.	5. A long gown of purple velvet lined with ruſſet ſattin.
6. A ſhort gown of purple velvet lined with plunkett cloth of gold.	6. A ſhort gown of purple velvet lined with green damaſk.
7. A long gown of purple cloth of gold, the gift of the queen, lined with white damaſk.	7. A long gown, and a half gown of blue velvet lined with black ſattin.
8. A plackert of black velvet, and a doublet of green ſattin.	8. Two doublets, one of black ſattin, the other of green ſattin.

For

For Richard's Hengemen on the eve of the Coronation.	For Edward's Hengemen.
Seven long gowns of white cloth of gold, made out of ſeven ſhort gowns with additions.	No garments on the eve of the Coronation, becauſe the ſeven ſhort gowns which Richard made into long gowns were probably intended for that purpoſe.
The morn after the Coronation.	
Seven long gowns of crimſon velvet, ſeven doublets of green ſattin.	Seven gowns of white cloth of gold, and green cloth of gold [x]. Seven doublets of black damaſk, eight gowns and hoods of black cloth.

How nearly do the robes of theſe royal perſons correſpond with each other, both in number and materials! The only difference ſeems to be, that Richard had a long gown of purple cloth of gold (a preſent from his Queen), inſtead of which Edward had a long and a ſhort gown of blue velvet.

To uſe the Apologiſt's words on this occaſion: "Let no man "tell me, that theſe robes, this magnificence, theſe trappings for "a cavalcade, were for the uſe of a priſoner!" They certainly were not; and therefore we muſt conclude, that ſome were iſſued immediately on his acceſſion, when it was neceſſary and uſual for ſuch deliveries to be made. Of this kind were the blue velvet gown made for him, and the eight gowns and hoods of black cloth, charged in this account for his Hengemen, which were undoubtedly the garments wherein they were dreſſed at the king's

[x] Charged among the mercery parcels, page 20, b. and is the only article of that colour in the account.

public entry into London; for it is remarked by Fabian, "that "the King was in blewe velvet, and all his lords and ſervants "in blacke cloth [*y*]." Some of them were alſo intended for his coronation, as we may infer from the ſimilarity of them to thoſe worn by Richard on that ſolemnity. Theſe robes muſt have been already prepared for Edward, as his uncle did not aſſume the regal power till five days after the time appointed for his nephew's coronation. The apparel of Edward's Hengemen, which conſiſted of green and white cloth of gold, was rather more magnificent than Richard's, which was only of crimſon velvet. The number of their Hengemen were equal. The Queen had only five who attended her in that ceremony [*z*].

WHAT concluſions then are we to draw from this record? Had Richard been cruel enough to have exacted ſo mortifying a ſacrifice from his depoſed, baſtardiſed, and impriſoned nephew, as to have dreſſed him in the mock pageants of royalty, and inſiſted on his walking as a captive to grace the inſolence of his triumph; yet, ſurely, he could not have been ſo deſtitute of political wiſdom (in which even his enemies acknowledge him to have excelled), as to have exhibited before a numerous crowd of diſcontented ſpectators, an object ſo likely to excite their compaſſion in favour of the young prince, and to kindle their reſentment againſt the barbarous author of ſuch unmerited indignity.

BUT why did not the Duke of York grace the proceſſion likewiſe; for there were no robes provided for him? Was he eſcaped out of the Tower? That cannot be ſuppoſed; for the tale of Perkin Warbeck (and we have no other account of his eſcape) connects that event with the death of his elder brother, whom the Apologiſt, nevertheleſs, ſuppoſes to be ſtill living. But if the robes

[*y*] Fabian's Chron. p. 513, b.

[*z*] Many of theſe articles, which relate to Lord Edward and his Hengemen, are charged in the Wardrober's general account of receipts and deliveries, undiſtinguiſhed from thoſe which were iſſued for Richard's Coronation.

provided

provided for Edward were royal robes, the difficulty is removed; and the ſilence of the Wardrobe Record with regard to his brother may be properly accounted for, by his not being ordinarily entitled to iſſues from that office; all the entries in that account (except thoſe which related to the coronation) being ſpecified to be only "for the King's or Queen's mooſt honourable uſe."

But in what place or order could Edward have appeared at this ceremony? His robes and attendants were royal; and yet he had at that time, neither rank nor precedence, being declared an illegitimate ſon of the late king.

The deliveries made on his account, although prior to thoſe iſſued for the coronation, yet (conſidering the circumſtances of that time) could not ſtand in any other place. The Maſter of the Wardrobe's account was engroſſed and cloſed in the beginning of the following year, when the act of Baſtardy had paſſed. In what order then, or under what name or title, could theſe liveries be charged? They could not precede the articles for Richard's coronation, for then they muſt have been charged as robes *for the king*. Piers Courteys, no doubt, underſtood the duty of his office too well to make ſo uncourtly an entry; and it would have been a dangerous experiment, at that critical period, to have excited the jealouſy or reſentment of his maſter.

It was not for Richard's intereſt, nor agreeable to his inclinations, that the time or the uſes for which theſe garments were iſſued, ſhould be particularly ſpecified. They are placed therefore after the articles relative to the coronation, amongſt thoſe iſſued *by the king's high commandment*, which in ſome reſpects was literally true. It is needleſs to obſerve that, when this account was cloſed, no other title but that of *Lord Edward* could be given to this prince.

There is another fact relative to this hiſtory, wherein the evidence of the Wardrobe Account is material.

Mr.

Mr. Walpole apprehends, that Sir James Tyrell is mentioned therein as Maſter of the Horſe at King Richard's Coronation; a circumſtance, which, in his opinion, diſcredits Sir Thomas More's account of that murder; it being improbable that a perſon, already preferred to ſo honourable an office near the perſon of the king, would have ſubmitted to the ignominy of ſo foul a deed.

But the record itſelf tells a very different ſtory, which tends rather to eſtabliſh than invalidate the hiſtorian's account; for it was *Thomas Tyrell*, and not *Sir James*, who *occupied the office* of Maſter of the Horſe to the King at that ceremony; and from this particular manner of expreſſing his tenure it may be inferred, that he held this office either as a deputy, or as a temporary ſubſtitute. It might have been vacant in the king's hand, as thoſe of Treaſurer and Comptroller of the Houſhold were at that time. Whether this was the caſe, or whether he held the office in his own right; the ſuperſeding him in favour of his elder brother implies ſome particular merit in the latter, which entitled him to ſuch a diſtinguiſhed mark of royal favour.—It was not till after Richard's firſt coronation, and juſt before the creation of his eldeſt ſon Prince of Wales, that Sir James appears to have been poſſeſſed of that office; for the paragraph which recites the delivery of the ſtable furniture to him by the hands of John Frieſley, clerk of the ſtables (which furniture is there called the king's ſtore), implies his having *then* firſt taken poſſeſſion of his office. Does not this promotion therefore coincide exactly in point of time with Sir Thomas More's account of the murder; and is not that account corroborated by the many favours and beneficial grants made to him at and ſoon after this period [*a*]? Did

[*a*] He had the office of Steward of the Lordſhips of Lanemtherry, Lantheſant, Newport Wenloke, and Kevoeth Meredith, in Wales, and the Marches, for the term

PEDIGREE

OF

SIR JAMES TYRELL'S FAMILY.

Sir John Tyrell, of Heron in Eſſex, Treaſurer of the Houſhold to K. Henry VI. | Eleanor, daughter and coheir of William de Coggeſhall, Eſſex.

1. Sir Thomas Tyrell, Sheriff of Eſſex and Hertfortſhire, 1460, died March 28th, 16 Edw. IV. leaving his grandſon, Sir Thomas, ſon of William Tyrell, Knight, his heir, then twenty-three years of age and upwards. Eſceat. an. 16 Edw. IV. n. 71. | Emma, daughter of Lever Marney of Lower Marney, Eſſex.

2. William Tyrell of Gipping in Suffolk, Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, 24 Henry VI. | Margaret, daughter of Robert Darcy of Malden.

1. Sir William Tyrell died in his father's lifetime. | Eleanor, daughter of Robert Darcy.

2. Thomas of South-Okingdon.
3. Humphrey of Warley.
4. Sir Robert Tyrell.

1. Sir James Tyrell, Knight, Maſter of the Horſe to Richard III. after his firſt coronation; beheaded for treaſon May 6th, 17 Hen. VII. | Anne, daughter to Sir John Arundell of Cornwall.

2. Thomas Tyrell occupying the office of Maſter of the Horſe to Rich. III. at his coronation.

3. Edward.
4. John.
5. John.

1. Sir Thomas Tyrell, Knight Banneret, born 1454 as above, Sheriff of Eſſex 1482. | Betrever, daughter to John Cocking of Derbyſhire.

2. Humphrey Tyrell and two daughters.

Sir Thomas Tyrell of Gipping, who had a ſpecial pardon from Hen. VII. April 13th, 19 regni; and on the 19th April, 22 regni, a reſtitution in blood, and to all his eſtates. | Margaret, daughter to Chriſtopher, Lord Willoughby.

2. James.
3. William.

1. Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron. | Conſtance, daughter to John Blount, Lord Mountjoy.

2. Sir Henry Tyrell, five other ſons, and ſeveral daughters.

Sir John Tyrell, only ſon and heir. | Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Munday.

John Tyrell, only ſon, died without iſſue male. | Anne, daughter to William Browne.

*** This account of the Tyrell family for five deſcents, which is copied from Vincent's accurate Pedigree in the Heralds office, and verified by other Records, not only proves, agreeably to the account of Sir Thomas More and the hiſtorians of that time, that Thomas Tyrell was brother of Sir James, but alſo that there was then no other Thomas Tyrell under the degree of a Knight anſwering to the deſcription in the Wardrobe Record, except it were Thomas Tyrell of Okingdon, the younger brother of Sir William, whoſe connections with the court, or promotion in it, are unſupported by any authority, and even deſtitute of probability.

Did not the two brothers ſucceſſively execute the ſame office? and was it not the duty of a Maſter of the King's Hengemen (or Pages) to be in attendance on the King, and probably to ſleep in his anti-chamber, whilſt the Pages themſelves were employed in menial offices nearer the royal perſon? Though Sir James Tyrell was neither Maſter of the Horſe, nor one of the King's Hengemen at the Coronation, yet being a follower of the court (as Sir Thomas More deſcribes him), and perhaps employed in ſome office there, or even as brother to the King's Maſter of the Horſe, it is in no reſpect improbable that he ſhould be ſeen in the king's anti-chamber, where Richard firſt propoſed to him the murder of his nephews.

THIS Sir James Tyrell, of Gipping in Suffolk [*b*], was deſcended from a younger branch of the Tyrells in Eſſex; his father, William Tyrell of Gipping, being the ſecond ſon of Sir John Tyrell of Heron, in Eſſex, who was Treaſurer of the Houſhold to King Henry VI. Thomas Tyrell, mentioned in the record, was younger brother to Sir James, and is called a Knight both by Sir Thomas More, and the family pedigree, though he did not bear that title at the King's Coronation. The ſon and heir of Sir James was Sir Thomas, to whom king Henry VII. granted an eſpecial pardon, by the name of Thomas Tyrell, of

term of his life. Pat. 2 Rich. III. p. 1. dated Auguſt 9th. He had alſo the ward and marriage of Robert Arundel Treryſe, ſon and heir of John Arundel Treryſe, Eſq; &c. during his minority. He had the rule of the Caſtle of Guiſnes, and in the abſence of Lord Mountjoy was Lieutenant there, and made Governor of Glamorganſhire, though he was ſent to Guiſnes, anno 2 Rich. III. The King alſo ſent him to Flanders for divers matters, and put him in truſt in Wales againſt the Duke of Buckingham; he was alſo a Commiſſioner for the forfeited eſtates of that Duke and other traitors in Wales and the Marches. See Kennett's notes on Buck's Hiſtory, vol. I. p. 552; where the grants made to the other accomplices in that murder are alſo mentioned. King Henry VII. made him Sheriff of Glamorgan, Feb. 19, anno primo regni. Fleet Roll, p. 4.

[*b*] See his pedigree in the annexed ſheet.

London,

London, gentleman, on the 6th day [*c*] of April, in the 19th year of his reign; and on the 19th of April [*d*], in the 22d year of his reign, gave him reſtitution of all his eſtates which had been forfeited by his father's attainder, who was executed for treaſon on Tower-Hill on the 6th day of May, in the 17th year of that king's reign. Sir Thomas More's account of the two brothers correſponds with this pedigree; but the report (which he gives only from hearſay) that Sir James was knighted for that infamous ſervice, is certainly ill-founded; for he bore that title in a patent of the preceding year, wherein he is appointed, with ſeveral other perſons, to execute the office of Conſtable of England [*e*]. In fact, he is mentioned amongſt thoſe who were made bannerets in Scotland by the duke of Glouceſter, on St. James's eve that year [*f*]. He is alſo placed by Hollinſhed as the firſt of the knights who attended at Richard's coronation.

THESE accounts of his family ſeem to correſpond with the ſituation and character in which Sir Thomas More repreſents him; who ſays, "that he was a brave handſome man, who de-"ſerved a better maſter, and would have merited the eſteem of "all men, had his virtue been as great as his valour [*g*]." He adds, that "he was ambitious alſo;" and ſurely it was no ſmall degree of that paſſion which could excite him to a rivalry of the king's principal favourites; "for he ſaw with regret, Sir Richard "Ratcliff ſoar above him in his maſter's favour [*b*]." If this

[*c*] Pat. 19 Henry VII. p. 1. m. 5.
[*d*] Pat. 22 Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 4.
[*e*] Rymer's Foedera, tom. xii. p. 169.
[*f*] Harl. MSS. 293, N° 95.
[*g*] Kennet's Collections, vol. I. p. 501.
[*b*] Hall ſays, "The man had a high harte, and ſore longed upward, not riſing "ſo faſt as he hoped, beying hindred and kept under by Richard Ratcliffe and Sir "William Cateſby, which longyng for no more parteners of the princes favour, "namely not for him, whoſe pride thei knew would bear no pere, kept him, by "ſecret drifts, out of all ſecret truſt." Firſt year of Richard III. fol. 111.

character of him is juſt, can we wonder that he ſhould have been recommended to Richard for an enterprize of this nature, or that he ſhould ſo willingly have accepted the commiſſion?

Upon the whole, the evidence, ariſing from the record in reſpect to king Edward V, is ſo far from proving that the young prince either actually did, or was intended to walk at his uncle's coronation, that we cannot infer from it, whether he were then living or dead; and as far as Sir James Tyrell's, or his brother Thomas's name occurs in this record, they ſerve to add probability to the received account of the prince's murder: Sir James being made to ſuperſede his brother as Maſter of the Horſe at the preciſe point of time aſſigned by the hiſtorians for this murder, and immediately before the creation of Richard's ſon Prince of Wales; an event to which the lives of the two princes ſeemed to be the only obſtacle. Impartial judgements will therefore connect theſe two circumſtances as dependent on each other; inferring from the creation of the Prince of Wales, that the lawful heir of the crown was no longer living; as they will from the particular time of Sir James's promotion, and the liberal grants made to him ſoon after, that he is not unjuſtly charged with the perpetration of that act, from which the apologiſts for Richard have not been able to clear him.

INDEX.

A

ABERFRAW, a palace of the princes of North Wales, 281
Abington, Berks, churchwardens accounts of St. Helen's pariſh there, *tempp.* Mariæ et Eliz. 11
—Remarks thereon, 17
Academie des inſcriptions, &c. when inſtituted, ii
Academy for the ſtudy of antiquity and hiſtory propoſed to be incorporated, iii
Achilles, his ſtature, 207
Adamnanus, abbot of Icolmkill, his account of the Picts, 236
Adel-mill, Yorkſhire, ſuppoſed by Baxter to be the ancient Coccium, 68
Adrian, emperor, his character, 114
Ad Fines inter *Maximam* et *Flaviam*, Caſtleſhaw, 63
Agarde, Arthur, vii
——— miſtakes the ſtyle of William the Conqueror's ſeal, 347
Αγγελοι filii Deorum, 203
Αγορα Forum venalium et judiciale, 195
Αἰς et αἰδης quid, 210
Alban's, St. church, built by K. Offa, 44
Aldmonbury ſuppoſed to be *Camboduunum*, 71, 72, 222
Aldrovandus, on the antique ſtatues at Rome, 122
Alexander, Edward, xxviii xxxiv
Alexodunum of the Notitia, 311
Alfred, king, endeavours to compoſe the differences between St. Grymbald and the members of the univerſity of Oxon, 154
Alemanni unde dicti, 279
Alicana Ickly, 64
Almanack, Runic, 183
Alkmonbury cathedral built by Wilfrid, 43
Alpes Peninni, Pendle-hill, 64
Alphabet, older than the Cadmean, given by Cecrops, 247
Altars removed, and communion-tables ſet up in their room, 20
Altar-piece, a curious ancient one painted at Weſtminſter, 37
Alunna, 217, 218
Andover pariſh, part of Chute Foreſt, 60
Andrews, biſhop Lancelot, vii
—his letter on receiving notice of his being elected a member of the early Antiquary Society, xv
Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, canonized, 25
Anſtis, John, ſen. and jun. xxviii
Antinous, an Intaglio of him explained, 113, 114

Antiquary, his ſpecial province, ii
—the name firſt uſed in England, iii
Antiquary Society, one exiſting in queen Elizabeth's reign, *ibid.*
—the members who compoſed it, v, vii, xvi, xxii, xxxiii
—ſubjects treated of by them, xiv
—they are diſſolved by K. James I. *ibid.*
—propoſal to addreſs the king for their re-eſtabliſhment, xvi, xxi
—their uſefulneſs ſtated, xxii
—the Society revived, xxv
—ſketch of the ſubjects propoſed to be illuſtrated by them, xxxviii, xxxix
—they form themſelves into a regular body, and hold ſtated meetings, xxxi
—rules for their conduct, xxxiii
—names of the new or or modern members, xxxiii
—their feaſt, xxiii
—minutes, xxxvii
—prints, xxxix
—places of meeting, xxxviii
—number of members limited, *ibid.*
—they obtain a charter of incorporation, xxxix
—erection of a royal college of Antiquaries projected and petitioned for xvi
—liſt of eminent Antiquaries, xxii
Antonine pillar at Rome, its meaſure, &c. 117
—called of Monte, Citorio, 121
Anubis, his worſhip introduced by Mercury, 116
Appii Forum, whence ſo called, 197
Aquarius, in Zodiaco idem ac Cecrops, 246
Aquam et Terram porrigere quid, 209, 211
Aquitain, a hiſtory of it deſigned by F. Lambert and others, 76
—coins ſtruck by the kings of England there, 78
Arabian numerals when introduced here, 140, 149
Ἀρχαιόγραφος, iii
Architecture, its origin, 40
——— Saxon, wherein diſtinct from the Gothic, 141
——— of Flint, not practiſed by the ancients, 148
Ard, *erd*, et *herd*, antiquis Terra dicta, 274
Ariconium of Antoninus, 296
Ark, Japhet worked in the building thereof, 52
Armach, its etymology, 239
Arnold's chronicle cited, 363
Arpend, a Celtico *Arren*, arare; et *pen* ſeu *bahn*, terminus, 271
Articles, book of, 18, 22
Ἄρχοντες, ſenators, 202
Arundel, Thomas, earl of, xxiv
Aſenet, Cultrix Minervæ, 253
Aſhford ſteeple, in Kent, an antient date there, 151
Aſhmole, Mr. his diary of the Antiquary Society, xxiii
Aſſizes for adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the realm appointed by K. Henry II. 45
Ἄστυ of Athens, its extent, 128
Aſtley, John, eſq; maſter of the jewels to Q. Elizabeth, 9
Athelſtan, a great benefactor to York church, 173
Athens, an Egyptian colony ſettled there, &c. 240
——— marriages firſt inſtituted there, 243
——— an alphabet, older than the Cadmean, given them by Cecrops, 247
Att, *Atten*, *Atte*, et *Atta*, quid, 274, 275, 276
Attic Era, 244
Aubrey, John, xxiii
Audley-End, 147
Αὖλαξ, qui ſulcum notat, 266

Aurelius

Aurelius Verus, L. an inſcription to him, 109
Aurelius, M. his pillar, commonly called the Antonine, 117, 120
—a braſs equeſtrian ſtatue of him, 122
Aynſworth, Robert, xxxvii
Axelodunum of the Notitia, 311

B

Bacchus, an antient altar to him at Wilton illuſtrated, 155
Bagford, John, xxvi
——— his remarks on the antiquity of brick buildings in England, 148
Bahn, Limes, 272
Baker, Mr. Thomas, xxv
Ballard, George, xxvii
Bannir, extra limites mittere, 272
Bardney abbey, the burial-place of Gilbert de Grant, and his family, 31
Barrington, Hon. Daines, his obſervations on the Welſh caſtles, 280
Baſſet, Mr. ſuppoſed author of the petition to K. James I. in favour of the Antiquaries, xxii
Bath, the hiſtory of that order intended by the Antiquary Society, xxxix
Battcley, Dr. John, xxvi
Baxter, William, four philological letters of his to Dr. Geeky, 206
—ſtrictures on his Gloſſary, 68
Bayon, Thomas de, archbiſhop of York, divides the church lands into prebends, 175
Beacons, their uſe and antiquity enquired into, 1
——— worn as creſts to the arms of ſeveral families, 4
Beale, Robert, vii
Becket, William, xxxvi
Beconagium, a tax for the maintenance of beacons, 4
Bede, an account of his ſhrine, 24
Bede, a miſtaken paſſage in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory conſidered, 222
Bedwin Great, conſidered by ſome as the *Leucomagus* of Ravennas, 59
Beighton, Mr. his ſurvey of Warwickſhire appealed to, for determining the courſe of the Ikenild-ſtreet, 60
Belatucader, altars inſcribed to him in Britain, 311
—a Cognomen of Apollo, 313
Βελιὰλ, Nomen Orci, 211
Beliſarius, reſtores the ſtatue of M. Aurelius to Rome, 124
Bellini, maſter to Georgini and Titian, 131
Belknap family, their arms and creſt, 4, 5
Benedict, biſhop of Northumberland, introduced glaſs windows and ſtone-buildings, 43
Beneſield, eſq; xvii
Bernwood foreſt, uſed by Edward the Confeſſor for hunting, 176
——— infeſted by a wild boar, &c. *ibid.*
Bible, various editions of it, 21, 23
Bickenhill, corruption from Beacon-hill, 6
Billingſley, Sir Henry, xx
Blackrode, a Roman ſtation, 63, 64
Black Prince, his letter relating to the battle of Poitiers, 213
Blackwell, T. Greek profeſſor, Aberdeen, his explanation of a Greek inſcription, 335
Boats, or floating veſſels, their origin, 52
Book of Articles, anno 1556, 18
Books, hiſtorical, propoſed for the illuſtration of national antiquities, 29
Borſtal manor, 176, 177
Boteville, Francis, xiii, xvii
Bourchier, archdeacon, xxviii
Bourdeaux in France, Roman and Engliſh antiquities there, 75, &c.
Bowchier, Henry, viii
Bowman, Walter, eſq; gives a narrative of

of the victory over the firſt formed army of the Iriſh rebels in 1641, 96
Bowman, Mr. his remarks thereon, 100
——— his explanation of an inſcription to L. Aurelius Verus, 109
——— his explanation of an intaglio of Antinous, 113
Bowyer, William, keeper of the Tower records, viii
——— William, printer, gives ſome Saxon types, puncheons and matrices, to Oxford univerſity, xxviii
Boyde, Captain, ſlain in the Iriſh rebellion, 93
Brachen, rumpere, 267
Bradbury camp, 60
Braich y Dinas caſtle, 293
Brecknock, Roman and other antiquities there, 294
Brerewood, Mr. firſt profeſſor of aſtronomy at Greſham college, xx
Brick buildings, an enquiry into their antiquity here, poſterior to the time of the Romans, 140
Britain, by whom firſt peopled, 49
Britannia prima et ſecunda, 220
Britiſh language divided into ſix dialects, 237
Brook, Dr. xxviii
——— Mr. York herald, xix
Βρολὸς, et βρότος, their different ſignifications, 206
Broughton, Richard, viii
Brudenel, Sir Thomas, xviii
Buck, Sir George, xix
Buildings of ſtone in England before the Conqueſt, 43
Bullaeum Silurum of Ptolemy, 302, 308
Burghley, lord William, xx
Burials, ancient form thereof among great perſons in England, 346
——— of K. Edward IV. 348
——— of Mary Q. of Scots, 355
——— in leather, 31
——— Roman cuſtom of burying by the ſides of the highways, 61
——— Sepulture took place of burning in the time of the Antonines, 75
Burton Daſſet church, painting of a coat of arms there with a beacon for the creſt, 1
Bury, in Lancaſhire, a Roman ſtation, 69
Butes, ſacerdos Minervæ et Neptuni, 247, 248
Byſſus of the Egyptians uſed to clothe their prieſts, 257

C

Caducifer, a Cognomen of Mercury, 276
Caer, its meaning in the Erſe language, 317, 319
Caerleon in Monmouthſhire, the head quarters of the Auguſtan legion, 294
Caerphilly caſtle, 290
Caeſarienſis Maxima, 219
——— Flavia, 220
Cairne, its meaning in the Scotch language, 319
Cairneduin, *Cairnedraidland*, *Cairnedruidland*, *Cairnetradband*, 319, 320
Calais, how the Iſthmus between there and Dover is occaſioned, 83
Calcaria, Tadcaſter, 63, 218
Camden, William, viii, xviii
Camelon, an ancient city, 231
——— the Guidi of Bede, 233
Cambodunum, *Campodonum*, *Camulodunum*, 62, 63, 218, 222, 226
Canterbury, the Durovernum of Antoninus, 187
—St. Alban's and St. Martin's churches there built partly with Roman brick, 143
—Chriſt Church formerly dedicated to the Holy Trinity, 344
—the Necrologium belonging to Canterbury church, 180

Cantilupe, Thomas, biſhop of Hereford, the laſt Engliſhman canonized, 25
——— offerings made at his tomb before his canonization, 26
Capocii, (I. I.) an artiſt in the 13th century, 34
Caracci, the calebrated painter, works of his, 132, 133
Cardo, et *Decumana*, their ſignification, 270, 273
Carew, Richard, viii, xiv
——— Lord, xviii
Carmarthen, a palace of the princes of South Wales, 281
Carthage, its ſymbol, an horſe, 252
Caſaubon, Dr. Meric, xxiv
Caſter, the Durobrivae of Antoninus, 61
Caſtles in Wales, obſervations thereon, 280
——— ſuch as are deemed the works of Edward I. 284
——— ſuch as are deemed Roman, 292
Caſtle-Hill, Yorkſhire, ſuppoſed to be the Cambodunum of Antonine, 218
Caſtleſhaw, deemed a Roman ſtation, 216
——— but erroneouſly, 222
Cat, Bellum, diſſenſio, unde Cateia, &c. 276
Cavallini, Pietro Romano, the artiſt who built St. Edward's ſhrine, Weſtminſter, 35, 38
Cauſennis, Brig Caſterton, 62
Caylus, Mr. Le Comte de, his affinity between the Egyptian monuments and thoſe of ancient Greece commended, 240, 241
Ceadwella & *Penda*, kill K. Edwin, and deſtroy Northumberland, 226, 227
Cecrops, the leader of an Egyptian colony to Athens, &c. 242, &c.
——— his arrival at Athens, the commencement of the Attic Era, 244
——— inſtitutes marriages amongſt the Athenians, 243
Cellini, Benevento, revived the art of caſting large figures in braſs, 124
Celts, from whence derived, 55, 278, 279
Cenomanni unde, *ibid.*
Cenſing churches, 19
Ceres, unde dicta Ἐπόγμιος, 266
Chapel, monumental ſtones ſo called in Scotland, 317
Chaucer, a quotation from him concerning the Rood, 17
——— and ſhrine of St. Hugh, 28
Cher, et *Cheran*, unde Latini gyrare, 272
Χεράδες, limits, and boundaries, 272
Chichely, John, xxviii, xxxvi
Chipping-ongar caſtle, built by Ric. de Lucie, 45
Choit, fornicatores, adulteri, 255
Chriſtiern, K. of Denmark, viſits England, 38
——— admires the Confeſſor's ſhrine, 39
Chute Foreſt, *Chute Park*, and *Chute Cauſeway*, the courſe of the Ikenild-ſtreet through them, 60
Cimabue, ſcholars of his, 34, 36
——— his works in biſhop Marchetti's collection, 134
Clarke, Bartholomew, xxi
Cliffe, or *Clift*, viii
Clifton camp, 63
Clochard in the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, 41
Côch, its ſignification in the Britiſh language, 66
Coccium, its true ſituation aſcertained, 63, 65, &c.
——— ſuppoſed by ſome to be Ribcheſter, the Ῥιγοδοῦνον of Ptolemy, 66
Cockly chapel, Lancaſhire, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Coccium, 68
Coifi, the heathen high prieſt baptized by Paulinus, at Godmondham, 44
Coin, with VRBS ROMA, P. S. I. S. explained, 74
Coins,

Coins, Britiſh, Roman, Saxon, Daniſh, and Engliſh, relating to Great Britain and its dominions, propoſed to have been engraved, xxxviii
—— ſtruck by the kings of England in Aquitain, 78
Coke, Sir Edward, xx
Collinſon, Peter, his account of the Round Towers in Ireland, 307
Columba, the firſt Chriſtian miſſionary received by the Picts, 236
Comes & *Conſul* equivalent terms, 174
Communion-table ſet up A. D. 1550, in the room of altars, 20
Compton, lord William, viii
Conciliabula Romana, 179
Conſtantine, St. cell at Wetheral, Cumberland, 84
Conſul, an equivalent term to *Comes*, 174
Coronation of K. Richard III. deliveries from the Wardrobe on that occaſion, with remarks, 363
Corregio, a work of his, 132
Coſens, Dr. xxi
Cotton, Robert, ix
——— Antiquary diſcourſes, &c. in his library, xiv
Covent-Garden, one of J. Jones's firſt buildings in brick, 148
Cowel, Dr. xxi
Creyke, Rev. Mr. xxxviii
Cunetio of Antoninus, 59
Cuſtos Feretri at Weſtminſter, 24
Cuthbert, St. book of benefactors to his church, 180
——— his ſhrine at Durham, 24

D

Danum, Doncaſter, 226, 227
D'Anville, Monſr. charged with diſingenuity, 129
Daſſet, or *Dercet*, manor, by whom formerly poſſeſſed, 5
Davies, Sir John, ix, xviii
Davis, Dr. John, xxv
Dead, the Roman cuſtom of burning them ceaſed with the Antonines, and Sepulture took place, 75
—— buried by the Romans by the ſides of the highways, 61
—— manner of burying great perſons in ancient times in England, 348
—funeral of K. Edward IV. 350
—of Mary queen of Scots, 357
Decumana & *Cardo*, their ſignification, 272, 273
Deed of Odo in Latin and Saxon, with obſervations thereon, 337
Deira, the patrimony of Ulphus, 168
Deincourt family, poſſeſſed of a large eſtate in Lincolnſhire, &c. 31
Dethicke, Sir William, ix, xxi
——— Sir Gilbert, xvii
Deva, Cheſter, 63, 219
Devizes the church there older than the Conqueſt, 44
D'Ewes, Sir Symonds, xxiv
Dinewaur, a palace of the princes of S. Wales, 281
Διφυὴς, a name given to Cecrops, 243, 244
Directors of the Antiquary Society, xxxiii
Dodderidge, Judge, ix, xviii
Dodſworth, Roger, xxii
Donafelda, the Campodunum of Bede, 225
——— ſuppoſed, by Gale, to be Tanfield, *ibid.*
Donn, Sir Daniel, xxi
Dorcheſter, the Epiſcopal ſee removed from thence to Lincoln, anno 1088, by Remigius, 31
Dorſet, Thomas, earl of, xx
Dover, how the Iſthmus between there and Calais is occaſioned, 83
Dowry caſtle, 217
Doyley, Dr. ix

Druidis

Druidis Inſigne of Pliny, 217
—a Roman knight put to death for wearing one at a law-ſuit, *ibid.*
Druidical temples in Scotland, 319
Dugdale, Sir William, xxiii
Dunwich, compoſition for wages between the bailiffs and their repreſentative in parliament, 205
Durham, regiſter of benefactors to the church, 180
Durolitum, Leyton, 74
Durovernum of Antoninus, 187
Duſtifutes, pedlars ſo called in Scotland, 203

E

Eadwi, king, his grant to York cathedral, 171
Ealderman, a Saxon title, equivalent to the *Earle* or *Eorle* of the Danes, 174
Eboracum, York, 63, 64
Edward the Confeſſor, his monument, 32
—— the firſt who cured the Struma, 162
—— his donations to Nigel, 176
Edward I. built moſt of the Welſh caſtles, 284
—— brought plans from the Cruſade, 223
Edward V. preſumptive evidences of his murder, 364, &c.
Edgar, *Edmund Ironſide*, *Edwyn*, K. of the Northumbrians, their reſpective grants to the church of York, 170, 171
—— converted to Chriſtianity by Paulinus, 170
—— founded the ſee and church of York, *ibid.*
—— is ſlain by Penda and Ceadwalla at Hethfield, 226
Egyptian colony eſtabliſhed at Athens, 240, &c.
Eliſha, ſon of Javan, from whom Elis in Greece was named, 50
Eliſabeth, queen, her New Year's Gifts, anno 1584-5, 5-9
—— vindicated from being privy to the execution of Mary Q. of Scots, 357
Ἑλλανοδίκαι, officers who adminiſtered juſtice at the Olympic markets or fairs, 196
Elſtob, William, xxvi
—— Elizabeth, xxvii
Ely cathedral, built by St. Wilfrid, 43
Enochi Vaticinium, 208
Equeſtrian figure at the Lateran, Rome, 125
Erdeſwicke, Sampſon, ix, xvii
Erectheus, *Erechthonius*, *Erichthonius*, & *Erichto*, &c. kings of that name at Athens, 247, &c.
—whence the name, &c. 248
Ἑρμαῖος λόφος, Mercurialis Acervus, 275
Ermyn ſtreet, the courſe thereof from London, 61
Ἐσσεδάριοι, qui, 336, 337
Eſſex, antiquities there, 73
Ethelred, a benefactor to the church of York, 173
Eton college built of brick, temp. Hen. VI. 147

F

Fairs, called by the Romans Nundinæ, 193
—— conſidered as *Fora judicialia*, and where laws were proclaimed, 195
Fairfax, Thomas lord, the general, preſerves and reſtores Ulphus's horn to the church of York, 181
Fanſhaw, Sir Henry, xvii
Fauſtina, St. her beautiful ſhrine at Rome, 34
Fell, biſhop, xxiv
Feretra, portable ſhrines, 23
—Cuſtos Feretri at Weſtminſter, 24

Ferrars, Henry, xix, xxii
Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, xx
Flavia Cæsarienſis, how bounded, 220, 221
Fleetwood, William, ſerjeant at law, and recorder of London, author of a MS. concerning the dutchy of Lancaſter, v
——— his account of the firſt preſidents of the Antiquary Society, *ibid.*
——— his birth and education, &c. x
Foires, whence ſo called, 197
Folkes, Martin, eſq; elected preſident of the Antiquary Society, xxxiv
——— his intentions of giving a compleat account of the Engliſh gold and ſilver coinage, xxxviii
——— on his death the Society purchaſe his plates and copy right of the work, xxxix
——— his remarks on the Trajan and Antonine pillars, 117
——— on the braſs Equeſtrian ſtatue at the capitol at Rome, 122
Font, wherein the heathen high prieſt Coifi was baptized at Godmundham, 44
Forum & *Fora*, why ſo called, 194, 197
Frederick, Sir Charles, on the courſe of the Ermin-ſtreet, and ſome antiquities in Northamptonſhire, 61
Fuller, biſhop, a great reſtorer of the antiquities of Lincoln cathedral, 27
——— placed a table-tomb where the ſhrine of St. Hugh ſtood, *ibid.*
Funerals of great perſons in England, how ordered in ancient times, 348
——— of king Edward IV. 350
——— of Mary Q of Scots, 357
Furrow, in Engliſh, whence derived, 267
Fure, vel *Furche*, foſſa, et grumus, 267

G

Gaer, near Brecknock, a Roman ſtation, 295
Gale, Roger and Samuel, xxviii, xxxiii
——— Samuel, places Coccium at Ribchester, 66
——— his diſſertation on Ulphus's horn, 168
——— on Cæſar's paſſage over the Thames, 184
Galli, a Dite prognati, 273
Garden, Dr. his letter on the circular ſtone monuments in Scotland, 314
Geſſoriacum, 184, &c.
Gigantes, ſaid to be ex divina et humana origine, 207
Giotto, ſcholar to Cimabue, ſuppoſed to have introduced the Moſaic work on monuments, 34
——— reaſons againſt this opinion, 35
Glover, Somerſet herald, xxi
Gôch, its ſignification in the Britiſh language, 66
Godfrey, ſon of Richard de Lucie, biſhop of Wincheſter, buried at Leſnes abbey, 48
Godmundham church built by Paulinus, 44
—the heathen high prieſt Coifi baptized in the Font there, *ibid.*
Godſtone, its ancient name, and quarries, 149
Gomerians, their firſt ſettlement in Europe, 54
Grant, Gilbert de, earl of Lincoln, refounder of Bardney abbey, buried there, 31
Granze, vox Germ. terminum denotans, &c. 270, 271
Grecian ſtatuaries made all their figures naked, 138
Greek alphabet, ancient, included in the inſcription

inſcription on the altar to Bacchus, 155
—ſuppoſed to be anno ante Chriſtum, 578, *ibid.*
—letters brought from the Eaſt, 159
Greenwich, the order of the Maundy there, anno 1572, 7
Greville, Sir Foulke, xix
Grilandia, maſter of Michael Angelo, 131
Γρυμὸι, Monticuli Terræ, 267
Grymbald, founder of St. Peter's church, Oxon, 151

H

Habingdon's MS. ſurvey of Worceſter cited to prove, that K. John built the ſtately gate-houſe of his court at Worceſter, 141
Hakewill, William, x
Hamo or *Hammo*, ſheriff of Kent, A. D. 1075, 343
Hardyng, John, particulars relating to him, and his ſervices in recovering the records from Scotland, 87
Hare, Henry, earl of Coleraine, xxxv
Hare, John, Richmond herald, xxvii, xxxvi
Hartwell, Abraham, x
Harwood, John, xxxvii
Hatton library, draughts of the monuments in Lincoln cathedral, before the civil wars, preſerved there, 29
Haviland, Dr. his diſſertation on the firſt peopling of Britain, 49
Hayward, John, xix
Hearne, Mr. prints a collection of curious antiquary diſcourſes, xiv
Helbeck Scar, furniſhed ſtones for the Roman wall, 229
Hengeman, a page or equerry, 372
Hexage, Michael, x, xvii
——— treaſurer to the chamber of Q. Elizabeth, 8
Heniochus, the ſame with Erichthonius, 248, &c.
Henry III. rebuilt Weſtminſter abbey, 33, 36
Henry VII. introduced the uſe of flint-building, 148
Hercules Ogmius of Lucian illuſtrated, 262
Herdum, a Germanis Terra dicta, 274
Hermathenæ, originally from Egypt, 114
Herma et *Hermula*, ſtatua, et Acervus lapidum, 275
Hermelin, et *Hermines*, Mures Pontici, ſive Muſtelæ, *ibid.*
Hermeraclæ qui, 277
Hermes, the ſame with Jupiter Terminalis, 115
——— Cognomen Mercurii, 274
Hermiones, et *Hermunduri* unde dicti, 279
Herongate, in Eſſex, a brick houſe, 147
Hethfield, or *Hatfield*, K. Edwin killed there, 226
Hexham cathedral, 43
Hickes, Dr. xxiv
Highlanders, properly a black haired people, excepting thoſe in the iſlands of Scotland, 236
Hobelers, men ſtationed to give notice of the enemy's approach, 4
Holland, Joſeph, x
——— Mr. T. xvii
Holmes, George, xxv
——— Randal, xxiii
Honiton, 89
Horns, an ancient inſtrument of tenure, 176
——— that of Ulphus given to the church of York, one, 169
——— ſo thoſe of Puſey and Borſtal, 177
Horſe, a ſymbol of Carthage, 252
Horſeley, Mr. miſtakes the true ſituation of Coccium, 67
Hour-glaſs for the pulpit, 22

Howard, lord William, xviii
Hugh, St. the crucified child, ſome account of him, and his ſhrine at Lincoln, 26
Hull, the walls and houſes built of brick, temp. Richard II. and afterwards of ſtone, 144, 145
Hurſt Monceau, in Suſſex, an ancient brick building, 147
—licence given to embattle and fortify it, *ibid.*

I

Jachwr, Robin, a famous Welſh antiquary, xxv
James, Sir Henry, xix
—— Richard, } xxiv
—— Thomas, }
Japhet, ſuppoſed to have worked at building the ark, 52
—— ſettled in leſſer Aſia, 50
—— the iſles of the ſea divided among his ſons, *ibid.*
Javan, the firſt ſettler in Greece, 49, 53
Icening, or *Ikeneld* ſtreet, its courſe, 56, 60, 74, 301
Jews, traffick with oil in Egypt, 255
Jewel, an ancient Anglo-Saxon one, various opinions about it, 161
John, St. of Dalderby, his ſhrine of gold, 29
Jones Inigo, the piazza in Covent-Garden, his firſt brick building, 148
Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, cited to prove the ancient uſage of tenures by horns, 177
Inſcriptions to Belatucader, 311
—— at Wetherhall, Cumberland, 86
—— on Shawk Quarries, in Cumberland, 228
—— ancient Greek ones, 155, 335
—— Roman in Wales, 306
Inſcriptions on Catuc, 307
John, K. a great benefactor to the church of Worceſter, 141
Johnſon, Maurice, xxix, xxxvii
—— his account of the regiſters of the biſhops of Lincoln, 30
—— of an extraordinary interment at Lincoln, 31
Ἵππιος, prænomen Neptuni, 250
Ireland, never ſubjected to the Romans, 101
—account of the victory over the firſt formed army of the rebels there in 1641, 96, 112
—account of the Round Towers there, 307
Iſraelites depart from Egypt, when Cecrops reigned at Athens, 245
Iſis of the Egyptians, the ſame as Minerva of the Greeks, 258, &c.
Iſthmus between Calais and Dover, how occaſioned, 83
Iſurium Brigantium, Aldborough, 64
Julius Cæſar, his firſt landing place in Britain, 82
—— his paſſage over the Thames, 184
Junius Franciſcus, xxiv
Jus Latium, conferred on ten cities in this iſland, 72

K

Καλλιγράφος, iii
Kennet, biſhop, xxiv
Kinderton, in Cheſhire, the Condate of the Romans, 62
Kingſbury church, Middleſex, built partly of Roman brick, 143
King's-Evil, the ceremony of touching for it, 161
The King and Queen ſtolen, 315
Kirkton, properly, Drayton Soke, 45
Knight, Dr. Samuel, xxxvii
Knowle, in Warwickſhire, arms of the Belknap

Belknap family in the church there, 5
Knute, the Daniſh king, his grants to York cathedral, 171
—— acts of charity done by him, 172
Κονίποδες, or Pied-poudreux, a court of ruſtics, 201
Κράνος, galea, 271

L

Lailand, Charles, xiv
Lake, Thomas, xi
Lambarde, William, xi, xvi
——— his account of the Maundy at Greenwich, 7
Lancaſter, a MS. hiſtory of the county by Serjeant Fleetwood, v
Llandrindod, wells, Radnorſhire, a camp or ſtation near there, 304
Lanfranco, painter, 133
Lawes, in Ireland, the ſame as Barrows, 318
Law Stones, in Scotland, *ibid.*
Leachel Beandich, or the bleſſed chapel, in Bamffſhire, 317
Leage Crag, ſupplied ſtones for the Roman wall, 229
Legh, Dr. ſuppoſes Ribcheſter to be the ancient Coccium, 66
Leiceſter walls of Roman ſtructure, deſtroyed by Ric de Lucie, 45
Leigh, Sir Francis, xi
——— Sir James, xviii
Leighton, William de, impowered to ſeize to the king's uſe the houſes of the Jews hanged at Lincoln, for crucifying St. Hugh, 28
Lemons, erroneouſly ſaid to grow wild on Penmaenmawr, 293
Le Neve, Peter, xxvi, xxxiii
Leſnes abbey, an account thereof, 44
——— monuments there, 47
Lethieullier, Smart, eſq; his account of the ſhrine of St. Hugh, 26
Lethieullier, Smart, eſq; on the Icening and other Roman roads, 56
——— on the antiquities in Eſſex, 73
——— on Roman and Engliſh antiquities at Bourdeaux, 75
Leucomagus of Ravennas, 59
Lewis, Rev. John, on the antiquity of Richborough and Sandwich ports, 79
Ley, James, lord C. J. xi
Leyton, the Durolitum of Antoninus, 74
Lichfield, whence ſo called, 57
Lincoln cathedral built by Remigius, 31
—draughts of the ſeveral monuments there, before the civil wars, in the Hatton library, 29
—ſhrine of St. Hugh the crucified child there, 26, 29
—regiſters of the biſhops there, 30
—extraordinary interment there, 31
—the epiſcopal ſee removed thither from Dorcheſter, by Remigius, A.D. 1088, *ibid.*
Λιπαρὸς, Terminus, 269
Liſburn, or Liſnegarvy, in Ireland, account of the Iriſh rebellion in 1641, from regiſter there, 76
Liſle, William, xxiv
Liturgy, ſaid, or ſung in Latin, temp. Henry VIII. 23
——— ſeveral editions thereof in Engliſh, *ibid.*
Livre de vie, what, 181
Λόγιος, Nomen Mercurii, 278
Londinum, 74
Lotta, Mercury's daughter, to whoſe memory Paleſtræ were inſtituted, 114
Loveday, Mr. on ſhrines, 23
Lows in Staffordſhire, the ſame as barrows, 318
Lucie, Richard de, account of his high offices and military exploits, &c. 44, &c.
Lluyd, Humphry, xx

Lluyd, Edward, xxv
Ludhill, in Anglo-Saxon, Water-hill, 224
Luguballia, New Carliſle, 230
Lumley, lord, xx
Lu'gi/hall, the courſe of the Iceningſtreet, through it, 56, 57
Lyttelton, biſhop, made preſident of the Antiquary Society, xxxiv
——— his account of Q. Elizabeth's New Year's Gift, 9
——— on the antiquity of brick buildings in England, poſterior to the time of the Romans, 140
——— communicates the Black Prince's letter after the battle of Poitiers, 213
——— on the inſcription on Shawk Quarries, 228
——— on the altar inſcribed to Belatucader, 310

M

Mackenzie, Sir George, xxv
Maddox, Mr. xxvi
Maen-y-Morinnion, a monumental ſtone in S. Wales, 296
Mal, *Merk-mal*, *Denk-mal*, et *Wundmal*, their ſignification, 270
Man, *men*, et *min*, vir præſtans, 274
Manche/ter, the courſe of the Roman roads from thence, 62
Mancunium, Manchester, 63, 65, 218, 221
Mannus, filius Thuiſconis, vel Mercurii, 273, 378
Mantegna, Andrea, maſter to Correggio, 131
Manwood, Sir Peter, xxi
Maraga, et *Maracha*, their ſignification, 269
March-hill, 221
Marchetti, Monſig^r. his fine collection of drawings, 130
Marcomanni, viri limitanei, &c. 271, 279
Mark, *Marche*, &c. a mark or limit of land, &c. 268, &c.
Marlborough, the Cunetio of Antoninus, 59
Marriage firſt introduced by Cecrops among the Athenians, 243
Marſden, or *Marchden*, 221
Marſhall, Thomas, xxiv
Maſonry work performed by the Britons, prior to the time of the Romans, 39, &c.
Martin's, St. church, near Canterbury, 143
Mathravel, a palace of the princes of Powiſland, 281
Mary Q. of Scots, the order of her funeral, 357
—Q. Elizabath, and Secretary Cecyl, vindicated from being privy to her execution, *ibid.*
Maundy, the order thereof at Greenwich, anno 1572, 7
Maxima Cæſarienſis, how bounded, 221
Melton, William de, archbiſhop of York, benefactor to that church, 180
Memories, obſequies for the dead, 20
Mercery, and other goods, their prices, temp. Richard III. 368
Mercher, autorem ſulci et limitis, 266
——— derivatives from thence, *ibid.*
Mercians, Marſhmen, whence the name, 45
Merkata, its ſignification, 269
Mercury, his attributes, 114
——— the God of the Celts and Germans, &c. 262, &c.
Mickleton, James, xxix, xxxvi
Mighty Stones, 315
Milbourn, Mr. on the Wetherall cells, 84
Milles, Dr. his ſpeech on being elected preſident, xli
——— his obſervations on the wardrobe account for K. Richard III. coronation, 363

Minerva,

Minerva, the Grecian and Egyptian, the ſame deity, 241, 258
——— arts invented by her, 251, 257, 259
Mirmillones, 336
Miſraim, takes poſſeſſion of Egypt, 52
Miſſæ pro Defunctis, 19
Moderators of the Antiquary Society, xiv
Month's Mind, 18
Month's monument, 20
Monumental circular ſtones in Scotland, 314
Μόργη, vel Μόργιον, idem quod Morgen, a March, 271
Morgen, determinatum ſpatium Agri, *ibid.*
Morice bells purchaſed by pariſhes, 20
Morlas caſtle, Glamorganſhire, 301
——— fine apartments there, 302
Μορλὲς, quid, 206, 207
Mountford family, their creſt, 4
Muſic, Mr. Handel's opinion of the peculiar taſte of the ſeveral nations of Europe, 20

N

Navigation, its era, 53
Nauti Deus, Ens ſummum, 254
Necrologion of Canterbury, 180
Neitha of Saïs, the ſame as Minerva of the Greeks, 253, 256
Neot, St. divinity profeſſor at Oxford, 154
Neptune, the ſame as Erichthonius, 249
——— invented the breaking of horſes and navigation, 250
——— produced the firſt horſe, *ibid.*
——— his diſpute with Minerva illuſtrated, 251, 259
——— not worſhiped in Egypt, 260
Nero, a coloſſal figure of him by Zenodorus, 124
Nicholas, William, xxxvii
Nicholſon, biſhop, xxiv
Nigel family, their hiſtory, 176
Nith, river in Scotland, the names on one ſide thereof Saxon, and on the other Celtic, 238
Νίτωκρις, an Egyptian queen, 257
Noel, Laurence, xi
Northallerton church, 44
Northampton, earl of, xvii
Northumbrians converted to Chriſtianity by Paulinus, 170
Nundinæ, fairs, 193

O

Obits, meaning of that word, 18
Odo, biſhop of Baieux, and earl of Kent, obſervations on a deed of his, 337
Occa, *Og*, *Ege*, the meaning thereof, 267, 268
Ogmius of Lucian illuſtrated, 262
Oldeſworth, Michael, xi
Oldys, Mr. his conjectures on the author of the petition for reviving the Society of Antiquaries, xxii
Olenacum, Old Carliſle, 230
Ὀλιγαύλαξ, parvi Agelli poſſeſſor, 266
Olive tree conſecrated by the Egyptians to Mercury, and not to Minerva, 254
—controverted, 255
Olympic games and fairs held together, 196
Ὀμαύλαξ, qui eodem utitur limite cum alio, 266
Ὀξίνα, quid, 268
Oſwald, king of Northumberland, his grants to York church, &c. 170
Oſward, ſheriff of Kent, 343
Overburrow, bremetonace, 65
Ovid, the ſtory of the Fox and Firebrand in his Faſti, repreſented on an old brick, 139
Owen, Sir Roger, xx

Oxford,

Oxford, claims a greater antiquity than Cambridge, 152

P

Painting, the ſtate thereof in divers periods; with the names of the moſt eminent artiſts, 131
——— ſome very ancient pieces in Weſtminſter abbey, 36
The Pale, in Ireland, confined to Leinſter, 102
Paleſtræ, inſtituted in memory of Lotta, 114
Παραμμον, Cognomen Mercurii, 274
Paris, Matthew, xxiv
—— an author of veracity, 27, 28
Parker, Matthew, archbiſhop of Canterbury, firſt preſident of the Antiquary Society, temp. Eliz. v
Parliament, compoſition for wages with the member for Dunwich, 205
Parſon and Clerk, ſtones ſo called, 315
Paſſeri, 135
Paſſiliere, Simon, impowered to ſeize, to the king's uſe, the houſes of the Jews hanged at Lincoln, for crucifying St. Hugh, 28
Patten, William, xii
Patrick, Maſter of Grey, his letter concerning the authors of Mary Q. of Scots death, 357
Paulinus, the Northumbrian apoſtle, 43, 170
——— baptized in the river Swale, 225
Pavey, Mr. xxix, xxxvi
Peada, the firſt Chriſtian king of the Mercians, 43
Pegaſus, what is meant by that word, 251
Pegge, Rev. Samuel, his obſervations on an ancient altar to Bacchus, at Wilton, 155
Pegge, Rev. Samuel, on an ancient Anglo-Saxon jewel, 161
——— on the introduction of the vine in Britain, 321
——— on a Latin and Saxon deed of Odo biſhop of Baieux, 337
Πελαῖνοι, Athenian cakes offered in ſacrifice, 245
Peltry, the prices of ſeveral kinds thereof, temp. Richard III. 368
Pembroke, earls of, xx
Penda & *Ceadwalla*, ſlay K. Edwin at Hethfield, 226
—they deſtroy Northumberland, 227
—Penda defeated and ſlain at Winmoor, *ibid.*
Pengwern, formerly a palace of the princes of Powiſland, 281
——— the ſignification of that word, 289
——— the ſame place as Shrewſbury, *ibid.*
Penmanmawr, the ſorbus ſilveſtris growing there, miſtaken for the wild lemon, 293
Pen-y-Crug, a Britiſh camp near Brecknock, 299
——— the meaning of that word, *ibid.*
Percival, Thomas, on the courſe of the Roman roads from Mancheſter, 62
Pietro Perugino, Raphael's maſter, 131, 134
Peter's, St. church, Oxon, its hiſtory, 151
Peterborough cathedral built by Peada, 43
Petes, an Egyptian coloniſt, 252
Pettingal, Dr. his diſſertation on the courts of Pyepowder, 191
Pevenſey caſtle, 143
Pezron, ſtricture on his account of Gomer, and his family's migrations into Europe, 49
Phari, light-houſes, 3, 4
Philips,

Philips, Sir Edward, xx
Picts, from whence derived, and their ſettlement in Scotland, &c. 231, &c.
Piers Plowman, a citation from him concerning Robinhood, &c. 21
Pitch-boxes, veſſels ſo called, containing fewel for beacons, 3, 5
Plot, Dr. xxiv
Pole, Michael de la, a merchant of Hull, made Count of Suffolk, 144
—— builds a palace there of brick, *ibid.*
Poitiers, a letter from the Black Prince concerning the victory obtained there, 213
Porca, foſſa, 267
Portown, or *Porton*, croſſed by the Ikeneld-ſtreet, 58
Portus Iccius, the port from whence J. Cæſar ſailed to invade Britain, 184
Portus Morinorum Britannicus, 185
Portus Sittuntiorum, Bargerode, 64
Powell, Dr. xxv
Prayer book againſt the invaſion of the Turks, 21
Preſidents of the Society of Antiquaries, xxxiv
Prideaux, Dr. xxiv
Probus, the emperor, permits the cultivation of the vine in Britain, 324
Pſalms, the Geneva, or metrical pſalmody introduced, temp. Eliz. 22
Puſey, fam. lands granted them in Berkſhire, by tenure of a horn, 176
Pye-powder courts, a diſſertation thereon, 191

Q

Queen's college, Cambridge, an ancient brick building, 147
Queries publiſhed by the Antiquary Society, relating to the topographical hiſtory of Great Britain, &c. xxix
Quintain, a Roman ſport, practiſed only where the Roman roads run, 304
—— ſtill practiſed at weddings in Brecknockſhire, and a few other places, 305, 306

R

Rad, Rota, et Aratrum, 272
Raphael, 134
Rapin, calls in queſtion the hiſtory of St. Hugh, the crucified child, 27
—— refuted, 27, 28
Rebellion of 1641 in Ireland, account of the victory over the firſt formed army of the rebels there, 96
—remarks thereon, 112
Redah, arare, 272
Remigius, biſhop of Lincoln, removes the ſee from Dorcheſter thither, 31
Reſta, Pere, a fine collection of drawings made by him, afterwards biſhop Marchetti's, 130
Ribcheſter, miſtaken for the Coccium of the Romans, 63, 64, 66
Richard the Monk, his vith. and viith. Iter. 63, 64
Richard de Lucie, chancellor and chief juſtice to Henry II.; founder of Leſnes abbey; ſaved the realm from ruin; projected the appointment of aſſizes through the realm; became a benedictine; his death and burial, 44, 48
Richard de Ware, abbot of Weſtminſter, and chancellor to Henry III. ſuppoſed to have erected the Confeſſor's monument, 33
—— paved the choir of the church, and was buried in it, *ibid.*
Richard K. III. obſervations on the wardrobe account of deliveries for his coronation, 363
—— preſumptive proofs in ſupport of the charge againſt him, of murdering his nephews, 364, &c.

Richborough and *Sandwich* ports, enquiry into their antiquity, 79, &c.
—J. Cæſar lands at Richborough, 186
Rippon cathedral, built by St. Wilfrid, 43
Robin Hood's bower, 21
Rocheſter church, its antiquity, 44
Rogers, Charles, eſq; his remarks on the ſtatue of Venus, found lately at Rome, 136
Roiſia, Lady of Roiſton, 44
Rollerick ſtones, 315
Roman roads from Silcheſter to Old Sarum, 57
—from Marlborough to Wincheſter, 58
—from Mancheſter into Yorkſhire, 62
—in Wales, 296, 299
—Chute-Cauſeway, a Diverticulum there, 60
Courſe of the Ermyn-ſtreet, through Northamptonſhire, 61
Roman-Saxon buildings 40
Rome, the comparative extent of its walls, with the Ἄσυ of Athens, 128
Rood and Roodloft, 17
—taken down in 1561, and paſſages out of the bible ſet up in the room thereof, 20
Rumſey church, 44
Rymer, Mr. xxix
Rutupiæ, Richborough, 79, 186

S

Saïtes, an Egyytian colony ſettled at Athens, 241
—conducted thither by Cecrops, 242
—ſignification of the word, 254
George, St. Sir Richard, xix
Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, an account thereof, 39
Sanderſon, Mr. xxvii
Sanderſon, Robert, xxxvi
Sandwich Port, an enquiry into its antiquity, 79, 81
—the town burnt and deſtroyed by the French in 1457, 82
Sarn Elen, Helen's cauſeway in Wales, 299
Savel, xii
Saville, Sir Henry, xxiv
Saxon architecture different from the Gothic, 141
Saxon charters before K. Withred's time deemed ſpurious, 178
Saxon punches and matrices given to the univerſity of Oxford, xxviii
Scandinavians, a red haired people, from whom the Scotch in the iſlands are deſcended, 236
—names of places, &c. inhabited by the Picts, of Scandinavian origin, 237
Scaurus, M. his temporary theatre at Rome, 136
Schmidt, Samuel, de Berne, his diſſertation on an Egyptian colony ſettled at Athens, 240
——— his illuſtration of Lucian's Ogmius, 264
Scotland, ſubſiſted under two different monarchies during the Roman invaſion, 235
——— account of ſeveral circular monumental ſtones there, 314
Scots and *Iriſh*, different names of the ſame people, 236
Scottatio, what, 177, 178
Seals of wax firſt uſed here by K. Hen. I. 341
Seal of William the Conqueror, the order of reading the inſcription miſtaken, 347, 348
Sebert, the Saxon king, founder of Weſtminſter abbey, his tomb there, 36
Secretaries of the Antiquary Society, xxxiv
Sedley, Sir William, xviii

Segar, Sir William, xviii
Sengenneth, or Caerphilly caſtle, 280, 291
Sepulchre of our Saviour, a building uſed to repreſent it in popiſh countries on Good Friday, 19
Shawk Quarries, Roman inſcriptions thereon, &c. 228
Shrewſbury, the ancient Pengwern, 289
Shrines, two ſorts, portable and fixed, 23
——— uſually placed at the Eaſt end of churches, 25
——— St. Alban's, Becket's at Canterbury, Cuthbert's at Durham, Edward the Confeſſor's at Weſtminſter, St. Hugh's at Lincoln, Erkenwald's at St. Paul's, 24, 25, 26
Shuckford, Dr. his opinion concerning the Greek letters being brought from the Eaſt, deemed highly probable, 159
——— his miſtake concerning the letters on the Theban Tripods, what owing to, 160
Sibbald, Sir Robert, xxv
Sidney, Sir Philip, xx
Sigraph, conjunctio, mixtio, &c. 243
Slaves among the Romans, when expoſed to ſale marked on the feet, 204
Smith, Dr. Thomas, xxv
Somner, William xxiii
Sorbiodunum, Old Sarum, 56
Sorbus ſilveſtris, on Penmanmawr, miſtaken for the wild lemon, 293
Southrope pits, a Roman burying-place, 61
Southwell cathedral, founded by Paulinus, anno 630, 43
Σφηνοπώγωνα, cui Barbam demiſſam et biſulcam, 277
Spelman, Sir Henry, xix, xxiii
——— Sir John, xxiv
Stamford, St. Mary's church there built by Wilfrid, 43
—and St. Leonard's priory, *ibid.*
Stations Roman, in Yorkſhire, 216, &c.
—other ſtations than what are mentioned in the Itineraries, 69
Stebbing, Mr. xxvi, xxviii
Stelae, lapides limitanei, 275
Stephens, Robert, xxvii
Stillingfleet, biſhop, xxiv
Stonar, in Kent, whence ſo called, 81
Stone circles in Scotland, 314
Stow, John, xii, xvii
Stradling, Sir Edward, xxv
Strange, John, eſq; his account of Roman and other antiquities in and near Brecknock, 294
Strangeman, Mr. xii
Strozzi, nephew to the Pope, his character, 113
Stukeley, Dr. William, xxix, xxxiii
——— his account of the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, 39
——— of Leſnes abbey, 44
——— ſtrictures on his account of the Icening and other Roman roads, 56
Stukeley church, 44
Sudley family, their creſt and arms, 4, 5
Swale, the river where Paulinus baptized, 225

T

Tabernacle, wherein the ſacrament of the altar is kept, 25
Talbot, Thomas, earl of Shrewſbury, xii, xvii
——— the laſt governor of Aquitain, 77
Talman, John, xxvi, xxxiii
——— his account of bp. Marchetti's collection of drawings, 130
Talſarn, the end of the cauſeway, 300
Tanfield, near Rippon, ſuppoſed by Gale to be Donafelda, 225
Tanner, biſhop of Carliſle, xxiv

Tate, Francis, xiii, xix
Taylor, his map of Hampſhire cited to ſettle the courſe of the Ikeneld-ſtreet, 60
Taylor, John, above 130 years old, an account of his life, 231
Tekuma, Terminus, 272
Temple, or Law Stones in Scotland, 318
Temple church, the ſtyle of its ſtructure, 40
Termes, a Limitroph divinity, 115
Terram et Aquam porrigere, quid? 209, 211
Τεῦγμα, monumentum et ſignum ad viam, 271
Τευθὴς, Index, et Explorator, 273
Thaut, ſeu *Theut*, Cognomen Mercurii, 271, 272
Theban Tripods, with Cadmean letters, miſtakes of Dr. Shuckford and others concerning them, what owing to, 160
Theutates Cognomen Mercurii, 273, 274
Theutones a Theuto, 273
Theutiſci, Theutofodiani, Teudneii, Theutoburgii, unde nomen ducunt, 279
Theobald, James, eſq; communicates an account of St. Peter's church, Oxon, 151
Theotrude, a noble lady benefactreſs to the abbey of St. Denis, 181
Thomas of Bayon, archbiſhop of York, divides the church lands into prebends, 75
Thoreſby, John, archbiſhop of York, a benefactor to that church, 180
Thynne, Francis, xiii, xvii
Tickencote church, an ancient building, 43
Tiras, his firſt ſettlement ſuppoſed to be in Thrace, 49, 50, 54
Topography of Great Britain, queries propoſed by the Antiquary Society relating thereto, xxxix
Tovey, Dr. his opinion on a Roman brick, with foxes and firebrands on it, 139
Towers, round ones in Ireland, 307
Trajan's pillar at Rome, an account thereof, 117
Τρανὸς, nomen Mercurii, 278
Treaſurers of the Antiquary Society, xxxii
Trendley park, held by Odo biſhop of Baieux, 337
—enquiry into its early incloſure, 338
Tripods, Theban, with Cadmean letters, miſtakes concerning them, what owing to, 160
Tubal, his ſettlement in Italy, 49, 54
Tuiſto, Cognomen Mercurii, 279
Turks, a common prayer book againſt their invaſion, 21
Twyne, Bryan, his character, 152
Twyſaen, Sir Roger, xxiv
Typhon, abominated by the Egyptians, 260
Tyrrel, Thomas, maſter of the horſe to K. Rich. III. at his coronation, 370, 382
Tyrrell, Sir James, maſter of the horſe to K. Rich. III. &c. 377
——— his pedigree, 383
——— ſuppoſed to be employed in murdering the king's nephews, 385,

V

Vacca Flaminius, his account of the braſs Equeſtrian ſtatue of Marcus Aurelius, at Rome, 122
Valence, ——— eſq; xvii
Valentia formed into a province, 220, 221
Valvaſores, qui, 198
Vaughan, Robert, xxv
Ὑδραύλαξ, ſulcus aquaticus qui agrum terminat, 266
Ὑδριάφοροι of the Greeks ſimilar to thoſe of the Egyptians, 259
Venus, a ſtatue of her, with a Greek inſcription lately found at Rome, 135

—con-

—conjectures relating thereto, 136
Veſpaſiana, the moſt Northern of the Roman provinces, 221
Vine, when firſt cultivated in England, 321
Vineyards in England, 326
——— in Ireland, 330
Ulphus, prince of Deiara, a diſſertation upon his horn of tenure given to the church of York, 168
Univerſal Hiſtory, their objections to the Patriarchs croſſing the ſeas into Europe, before navigation was ſuppoſed to be known, anſwered, 50
Uſher, archbiſhop, xxiii
Vertue, George, xxxvii
——— his account of Edward the Confeſſor's monument, 32

W

Wales, obſervations on the Welſh caſtles, 280
—number of inhabitants in Angleſey, Carnarvonſhire, and Merionethſhire, 283
—Roman and other antiquities in and near Brecknock, &c. 294
—no Papiſt in theſe counties, 284
—antiquities therein, 294
—no coins of their kings exiſting, 282
Walker, Mr. his account of the Picts, &c. 231
Walpole, Horace, eſq; remarks on his hiſtoric doubts, 363
Waltham abbey church, ſuppoſed older than the Conqueſt, 44
Wanley, Humphry, xxvi, xxxvi
——— his plan for an Antiquary Society, xxix, xxxi, xxxviii
Wanſted, in Eſſex, Roman antiquities there, 73
Ward, Mr. profeſſor, on beacons, 1
——— on the pariſh accounts of St. Helen's, Abington, 11
Wardrobe account of 1483, containing deliveries for K. Rich. III. coronation, examined into, 363
Ware, Rich. de, abbot, ſuppoſed to have built the Confeſſor's ſhrine, 33
Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, wines provided at his inthronization feaſt, with the prices, 332, 333
Warkhouſe, Mr. xxix
Watſon, Rev. John, on the ancient Coccium, 65
——— on a Roman camp at Caſtleſhaw, 216
——— on the ancient Campodunum, 222
Watts, Dr. William, xxiv
Weever, John, his account of monuments in Leſnes abbey, 47
Weſton, Robert, xiv
Wetherall cells in Cumberland, 84
Whitlock, Sir James, xiv
Wilfrid, St. cathedrals and other churches built by him, 43
Willis, Brown, LL. D. xxviii, xxxvii
——— renounces his opinion concerning the ſhrine of St. Hugh, 29
Willis, Richard, of Andover, on the courſe of ſome Roman roads, 60
Wilton, obſervations on a curious altar to Bacchus, there, 155
Wimborn minſter, Dorſetſhire, a Saxon building, 44
Wimple church built by lord Hardwick, 48
Winchelſey, archbiſhop, of Canterbury, offerings at his tomb though not canonized, 26
Wincheſter, petition of the citizens in 1450, to K. Henry VI. praying relief, and ſhewing the decayed ſtate of their city, 91
Wine, held in abhorrence by the Egyptians, 240
——— its early introduction into Britain, 323

Wine made from the vine planted in England, 326, &c.
Wiſeman, Mr. xiv
Withred, king of Kent, Saxon charters before his time deemed ſpurious, 178
——— written diplomata, or charters firſt introduced by him, *ibid.*
Wood, Anthony, xxiii
Woodſtock, ſuppoſed the oldeſt incloſed park in England, 338, 341
Woolen-drapery, &c. prices thereof, temp. Rich. III. 368
Worceſter, K. John's tower there, 141
—ſtatues thereon, 142
Wray, Daniel, eſq; his notes on the walls of ancient Rome, 128
—— gives an account of a ſtatue of Venus lately found at Rome, 135
Wrotteſly, Mr. xxxvi
Whitgift, archbiſhop, of Canterbury, ſucceeded archbiſhop Parker in the preſidentſhip of the Antiquary Society, v
Whitelock, James, xiv, xix
Wheelock, Abraham, xxiii
Wharton, Henry, xxiv
Whitby church, a Saxon building, 44

Y

Year's Mind, &c. what, 18
York cathedral, founded by Edwyn king of the Northumbrians, 170
—— firſt built of wood, *ibid.*
—— ſeveral grants and benefactions to it, 169, &c.
—— the church lands divided into prebends among the canons, 175
Yorkſhire, Roman ſtations there, 216, &c.

Z

Zuccari, painter, 132, 133

PLATES.

That of the Beacon to face p. 1
Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, 39
Leſnes abbey, - - - - 44
Wetherall cells, - - - 84
St. Grymbald's - - } 151
Baptiſtery, - - - }
St. Peter's church, - - }
Brecknock antiquities, - - 296
Ardinore Tower, - - - 307
Eſſedarii, - - - 335
Odo's Saxon deed, - - 337

END OF VOL. I.

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